

Chapter Four

Art and Science in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: A Comparative Analysis of the Work of Some Medical Men and Their Artistic Practices

The previous Chapters argued that geographical placement, social and professional interactions, and the working partnerships of artists and anatomists all led toward new affiliations. This chapter looks at the 'truth' in art-anatomy images, investigating their design and expression. The representation of the human figure not only encompasses within it a scientific and physiologically determined structure but also embodies expression within this. Science, like art, is just one way of looking at the world, this vision of exactitude dominated the eighteenth-century especially in the representation of art-anatomy figures. The art-anatomy treatise embraced taste, beauty, science and some kind of moral message, even the 'reading' of a face as we have seen became a cultural phenomenon.

This section of the thesis focuses primarily on the evolution of anatomical instruction between 1770 and 1870 and examines the work and ideologies of four men: Joshua Reynolds, William Hunter, Charles Bell and John Marshall. Nineteenth-century reformers like Bell and Marshall are set against Enlightenment figures such as Reynolds and Hunter as their shared interests in each case was the pursuit of art, anatomy

that the kind of anatomical instruction which included dissection was the correct procedure for an artist and he constantly strove "to make the knife accompany the pencil".⁶

I : William Hunter's Art-Anatomy Folio: Science and the Senses.

William Hunter's medical treatise, published six years after he became professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts, was the culmination of many years work through dissection, preparations and research - in this he saw theory come to life. Hunter's The Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus (1774), is an obstetrical folio depicting the various stages of pregnancy.⁷ I suggest that Hunter was able to produce such a magnificent folio because of his connexions with artists at the Academy, as he wrote to William Cullen: "I am pretty much acquainted with most of our best artists and live in friendship with them".⁸ Hunter called upon the talents of his close associates at the Academy employing their artistic skills both in painting and engraving.⁹ "The art of engraving supplies us with... a universal language. Nay, it conveys clearer ideas of most natural subjects than words can express, makes stronger impressions on the mind, and to every person conversant with the subject gives an immediate comprehension of what it

represents".¹⁰ This folio is a testament to his medical expertise and his understanding of the two-dimensional representation of the human body, juxtaposing life and death. For the purposes of analysis in this chapter, I have favoured separating drawings from engravings because of the nature of the 'original' drawing. The expertise required for a skilled drawing, the comprehension of human anatomy and the representation of artistic expression were all facets to which Hunter's academy lectures refer. He placed great emphasis on "the art of engraving" and was pleased with the results, giving much praise and credit to Robert Strange:

For the engraving I consulted my friend Robert Strange. Mr Strange replied at once to my invitation and conferred a kind of immortality upon my labours by engraving two Plates from Mr Rymsdyk's paintings.¹¹

Hunter had begun work on this medical atlas prior to his teaching at the Royal Academy, though the artistic world in which he long resided must have influenced certain decisions regarding dissection and the graven image. The medical atlas depicts the various stages of pregnancy and on one occasion Hunter records the procuring of a gravid uterus:

On the 11th February, [1751] I was fortunate to meet with a Gravid uterus, to which, from that time, all the hours have been dedicated which have been at my disposal. I have been busy in injecting, dissecting, preserving, and showing it, and in planning and super-intending drawings and very capital drawings from this subject. They and some more, shall be engraved by the best masters, as soon as possible, and then the whole shall be published.¹²

The painters who executed anatomical drawings for him were Edward Edwards, Nicholas Blakey, Alexander Cozens, Jan van Rymsdyk and Frederick Bernie. Hunter appears to have favoured using a large number of French engravers, some living in London at the time, together with a handful of British engravers.¹³ Hunter had connexions with the St. Martin's Lane Academy in the 1750s, and I suggest it was here that he met artists such as Francois Aliamet who executed and exhibited figure drawing at the Society of Artists. Aliamet, Grignion, Strange and Ravenet, all of whom had links with the Royal Academy of Arts, undertook engravings for Hunter.¹⁴

Frederick Bernie executed a large number of anatomical drawings for Hunter while a student at the Royal Academy. Bernie entered the Academy Schools on 16th March, 1773, at the age of twenty-four though he does not state his area of specialism.¹⁵ Although the drawings in the Gravid Uterus are all identified, it appears that the additional commissioned drawings by Bernie were never published. The Academy artist Sawrey Gilpin (1733-1807), also executed paintings and drawings for Hunter though not for the Gravid Uterus.¹⁶ (Gilpin was an animal painter of a "superior kind" and worked for both John and William Hunter.¹⁷) These were never published even though some included paintings of female anatomies which William Hunter had commissioned.¹⁸ The majority of drawings in the Gravid Uterus were executed by Jan van Rymsdyk, who Hunter describes thus: "I was able to find a very able painter, Mr. Rymsdyk, and in the course of some months he made ten capital

drawings of this one subject."¹⁹ The preface to the Gravid Uterus recounts Hunter's use of cadavers, stating that in the course of "some months, the drawings of the first ten plates were finished"; meanwhile, a second female subject was procured allowing for some "supplemental figures of importance" to be drawn.²⁰ Before the engravings were completed, a "Third subject occurred very opportunely", giving additional engravings to the folio.²¹

Though technically competent, Rymsdyk's drawings are somewhat stylised; we see use of detail to face, hands, nails and eyelashes.²² This detail appears to have delighted Hunter, satisfying his request for "an accurate representation of what is actually seen, thus giving them elegance and harmony with the natural state".²³ Guided by the anatomist, Rymsdyk's drawings are visually assaulting usually portraying truncated thighs with frontal viewing, showing legs wide apart. Cozens's drawing is rendered in black ink and wash, with text by Hunter: "From a seventh subject, at seven months. The womb opened by a crucial incision, and the four corners carefully separated, and turned aside".²⁴ The drawing by Cozens (see over the page) translates such medical terminology into a rather beautiful drawing leaving large areas of the body purposefully un-drawn, focusing the reader's eye on the central core: the womb. This depicts a flower-like opening of the central organs with flaps of skin pinned outwards. He reduces the body and organs with the exception of foetus to a minimum of lines, leaving most of it in outline only, in contrast to

Rymsdyk's red and black crayon drawing. This interpretation of Hunter's anatomical text appears to have its roots in the seventeenth century, as a drawing for Adriannus Spigelius's De Formato Foetu Liber (1626), depicts a similar image (see over the page) and can be compared to that by Cozens.²⁵ Edwards executed Plate XVI, and Blakey was responsible for Plate XXII, depicting "a female foetus drawn from Nature", which I suggest is the most representative of artistic licence.²⁶ This is by far the most expressive drawing in the folio, positioning the thighs horizontally across the page, showing minute detail in parts, juxtaposed with linear illustration; it is altogether delicately executed.

The translation from paint to print involves different techniques, inevitably giving a different 'feel' to the image. For example, a brush-stroke will have a different appearance to pencil or mezzotint. Hunter's engravings depict no apparent painterliness about them, nor any of the softer contours expressed either in the originals or by using mezzotint. The harsh linear and cross-hatched images of the engravings chosen by Hunter represents his vision of the human body. In contrast to Hunter's engraved images of the uterus and foetus is the work of John Howship.

John Howship (1781-1841), was a practising surgeon at the Charing Cross Hospital and St. George's Infirmary and as already referred to in the last Chapter was a house-pupil to John Heaviside, and (to use Haydon's expression) appears to have been the perfect 'painter-anatomist', practising at the

same time as Charles Bell. Howship made good use of his time with Heaviside and from Heaviside's private collection on morbid anatomy Howship produced a number of paintings.²⁷

Although the organs that are depicted correspond with those in Hunter's folio, unlike the Hunter images, they are neither diagrammatic nor graphic in appearance, but are painted directly onto the page, revealing colour with gestural brushwork. The startling difference between the Howship and Hunter depictions of human physiology identifies the Hunter folio as scientific and medically analytical. The images do not possess a "kind of Immortality", capturing truth and beauty in nature, so sought after by Hunter. What I am suggesting with this example concerns the original drawing and its mirror-image, the engraving. Not only is there an agreement of medical knowledge, artistic vision and technical skill between anatomist and artist working together but this can also be applied to the relationship between painter and engraver. For other comparative examples of 'anatomized' woman we turn to Leonardo and his anatomical studies. Da Vinci's drawing 'The Foetus in the Womb' (circa 1510-12), exhibits cross-hatching and a "compelling three-dimensional image" of a heart-shaped womb.²⁸ Although this may lack scientific/medical exactness this deficiency is amply filled by what aestheticians would call the "emotional content" embodied within a study.²⁹ William Hunter's depictions of a complementary study from the Gravid Uterus (plate XIII), taken "from a third subject in the nine month of pregnancy" reveals a more analytical approach,

almost sterile in its application. Nature and the beautiful are embodied in the Da Vinci giving a sensitivity to the drawing, which fails to be seen or felt in Hunter's. Ludmilla Jordanova explores Hunter's anatomical mis-use of women because of the victim-like positions he ascribes to pregnancy-states, what she calls "representational violence".³⁰ It is not, I suggest, the question of undermining femaleness that Hunter advocates but the rendering of pictorial understanding of form and content. For some of the Leonardo studies assume similar attitudes to the Hunter prints (see over the page). Hunter's lectures refer to nature, truth, goodness and beauty, yet the visualisation of his theories portray only analytical observation, neglecting the expressive language of art. Unlike Jordanova, I do not believe Hunter to have been personally a misogynist, but rather a man projecting scientific and cultural values.³¹ This cultivated anatomical gaze for which eighteenth-century medical men became increasingly known derived much of its power from an underlying cultural-misogyny. The choice of visual comparisons between Leonardo and Hunter re-inforces the evolution of the scientific-gaze of men in relation to the female not only as sexual being but as a medical tool.

I suggest another direct comparison between Leonardo's drawing 'External Genitalia and Vagina, with Diagrams of the Anal' (circa 1508-9), and the truncated drawing commissioned by Hunter from the folio Plate V, "a Fifth View of the Opened Womb", (see over the page). Both studies depict the

fragmentation and truncation of thighs, sectioning the body and isolating the central anatomic organs of a woman. This drawing, like Cozens's, illustrates the conception of womanhood by a symbolic image of the flower-like opening of nature, whereas Hunter's portrayal of a similar subject is analytically detached in its severity of dissection and truncation. Hunter portrays "the dead as the dead" with detached artistic and anatomical clarity. He uses detail such as eye-lashes and hair, showing anatomy realistically and yet his approach becomes scientific in its pictorial appraisal of the human form. Contradictions exist in Hunter's philosophy regarding nature and beauty, life and death, immortality and mortality, the idealised and the human. Classical ideals of perfect beauty were considered to be smooth, well-proportioned, god-and-goddess-like: Hunter's images are none of these. Da Vinci's anatomic studies express man as a living spirit whilst Hunter's illustrations portray man as machine: "Now, to illustrate our Subject, let us suppose that this is some mechanical machine, to which we mean to compose the human body, made up of a number of pieces which move on one another".³²

The realistic representational qualities of the Hunter studies become shocking and confrontational to our senses. In contrast, Leonardo's renderings of similar figures appeal to our senses, giving pleasure. Hunter's images of scientific anatomy and Leonardo's naturalistic anatomy are in direct opposition and in pursuing nature and beauty both men appeal to our senses in different ways. Hunter's consideration as to the

scale of his book also gives insight into the engraved plates which he describes thus: "Of elephant folio size, despite the cost for the largeness gives an elegance and variety and precision far exceeding that of smaller figures".³³ The immediacy of this work is compounded both by scale and image. This is in contrast to the Da Vinci studies which are small, fragmentary and unobtrusive. As I have shown there were great discrepancies between Hunter's theory and his practice, ironically so, in that two of his great heroes were Leonardo and Vesalius.³⁴ Hunter's audiences included those members of society who could afford to purchase such expensive tomes as his. Naturally, students unable to afford such folios relied on libraries, although it is interesting that the Royal Academy did not possess a copy of Hunter's Gravid Uterus.³⁵

William Hunter and Joshua Reynolds: Enlightenment Thinkers

The pursuit of aesthetics for those educated in the eighteenth-century did not belong to art academies and paintings alone but was a way of life. The body increasingly became a visible and tangible medium through which artists and medical men could transmit codes of aesthetics that were also interpreted as codes of ethics.³⁶ Both Terry Eagleton and John

Barrell interpret aesthetics as politically active in shaping individual taste, knowledge and moral behaviour, the cultivation of which was considered important to an aesthetic life-style. As Eagleton points out: "The beautiful is just political order lived out on the body, the way it strikes the eye and stirs the heart".³⁷ Taste as understood by Reynolds is "that act of the mind by which we like or dislike, whatever be the subject". Furthermore, it was a well-informed and rational choice: "Our judgment upon an airy nothing, a fancy which has no foundation, is called by the same name which we give to our determination concerning those truths which refer to the most general and most unalterable principles of human nature".³⁸

Cultural ideologies of scientific exactness and artistic beauty were the canons on which paintings were produced. In 1748 the Abbe Pluche called "for clarity in the devising of allegories in accordance with eighteenth-century taste".³⁹ Like the reading of text, the reading of art also had its own language and could be deciphered and translated accordingly. In The Analysis of Beauty (1753), Hogarth centres his argument around the "line of beauty", purporting that figurative art could be regulated by a specific principle which could be expressed by a particular line.⁴⁰ The beauty of different physical types is a theme which Hogarth deals with in Chapter XI, entitled 'Of Proportion'. Here he distinguishes between purely formal beauty and the beauty of fitness: the first is governed by the serpentine line, the second arises "chiefly from a fitness of some design'd purpose of use".⁴¹ Hogarth refers to the pencil

of the draughtsman following the contours of the body "as pleasingly as the lightest skip dances over the gentlest wave", and furthermore of "a living well-shaped leg and thigh, or those of a fine statue".⁴² The pictorial distinctions made by Hogarth are an essential part of his language as an artist, making his characters and caricatures easily legible.⁴³ Edmund Burke's An Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (1756), proposes similar thoughts to those invoked by Hogarth and on ideal beauty and female anatomy Burke writes:

Observe that part of a beautiful woman where she is perhaps the most beautiful, about the neck and breasts; the smoothness; softness; the easy and insensible swell; the variety of surface, which is never for the smallest space the same; the deceitful maze, through which the unsteady eye slides giddily, without knowing where to fix, or whither it is carried.⁴⁴

However, the two writers part company when Burke cannot accept Hogarth's rule of systemization. Consequently, Burke refutes the strict 'linear' doctrines: "There is no particular line which is always found in the most completely beautiful; and which is therefore beautiful in preference to all other lines".⁴⁵ Winckelmann, like Reynolds and Gerard, concerned himself with human proportion,⁴⁶ and although Hunter rarely refers to physical proportion, in one lecture to the Academy students he describes the human body as two pyramids.⁴⁷

Both Reynolds and Hunter urged their students to look to nature when portraying beauty, reality or the body, for these

alone, and not memory or fantasy, would bring about great works of art. Artists, Reynolds stated, should work with nature and in doing so would achieve ideal beauty which is "the great leading principle, by which works of genius are conducted".⁴⁸ Even Nature's weaknesses or deformities can become beautiful once in the hands of the artist; for Reynolds, beauty is not something beyond reach but something tangible with each part working in harmony. "For perfect beauty in any species must combine all the characters which are beautiful", Reynolds proposes, "it cannot consist in any one to the exclusion of the rest".⁴⁹ The ideas of Reynolds concerning harmony, dominance and submission are imbued with political, cultural and educational overtones. Taste, aesthetics, virtue, beauty and society are all spoken of in the same breath. For Reynolds, like so many of his contemporaries, they are related. Art, science and medicine as understood by artists merge together, allowing artists to use medical and scientific knowledge for their own purposes. The breakdown of social and professional barriers between artists and medical men was to a certain degree a product of the fusing together of the cultural and moral boundaries of Enlightenment practices. Reynolds was aware of his responsibility not only as a doyen of art but as a respected member of society, leading him to write:

We pursue the same method in our search after the idea of beauty and perfection in each; of virtue, by looking forwards beyond ourselves to society, and to the whole; of arts, by extending our views in the same manner to all

ages and all times. 50

Reynolds, like Hunter, refers to copying nature, imitation, high art, beauty, virtue, copying past Masters, science and art. "Without science, without selection, and without fixed principles", Reynolds told his students, artists produced "absurd foolish paintings".⁵¹ Hunter and Reynolds were products of the Enlightenment. Both held similar views on subjects relating to art, science, medicine and education: they believed in rules, rationality and rank. In his final address at the Royal Academy Reynolds informs his audience: "I have taken every opportunity of recommending a rational method of study, as of the last importance".⁵² Reason for Hunter and Reynolds "must ultimately determine everything", even within an Academy of Art where the application of science was thought by most just as important as artistic ability. Science was part of an artist's learning as far as Hunter and Reynolds were concerned, and students were expected to create art based on solid scientific foundations. These Enlightenment principles are outlined by Reynolds in Discourse VIII (1778) regarding fixed rules, art, correctness and science:

This notion, therefore, of leaving anything to the imagination, opposes a very fixed and indispensable rule in our art, - that every thing shall be carefully and distinctly expressed, as if the painter knew, with correctness and precision, the exact form and character of whatever is introduced into the picture. This is what with us is called Science, and Learning; which must not be sacrificed and given up for an uncertain and doubtful beauty, which not

naturally belonging to our Art, will probably be sought for without success.⁵³

Scientific and artistic exactitudes, measured anatomies and pre-designed canvases are what Reynolds asks for.

Artists and medical men were called upon to use mechanical and intellectual skills which Reynolds perceives as the difference between mere copying and high art.⁵⁴ And for those who "have never raised their minds to the consideration of the real dignity of the Art", they fix on the mechanical practice and "very assiduously toil on in the drudgery of copying, and think they make rapid progress".⁵⁵

John Barrell further investigates Reynolds's thoughts on elitism and equality, relating servile mechanical trades to those less fortunate in society in contrast to those who, like Academy students, have opportunities of pursuing concepts, ideas, skills and expertise in high art. Barrell shows the contradictions within some of the Discourses as the shift of political and artistic emphasis varies from lecture to lecture though I suggest there are threads of continuity throughout regarding the copying of past masters, anatomical knowledge, science, the role of art education and the intellectual properties required for art.⁵⁶ The previous Chapter has already referred to Reynolds and his belief that art is scientific and not divine. However, as we have seen here Reynolds encourages artists to use concepts and the intellect when creating a work of art. Reynolds goes on to write: "He

[the artist] ought to know something concerning the mind, as well as a great deal concerning the body of man".⁵⁷ Hunter, like Reynolds, was a good communicator and as Reynolds spoke of science and anatomy, Hunter referred to art and the principles of education:

In the Study of the Arts, a very principal part of Education is to give a perfect knowledge of its Elements, its Scientific and demonstrable principles, as the only foundation upon which Genius and Fancy can safely build.⁵⁸

It is not surprising they worked well together. Their shared views on education, anatomy, art and scientific import created yet another professional link to the rapidly growing chain of art-anatomy connexions. While life classes involving a nude female were restricted to married men there was no shortage of 'anatomized' females adorning the medical folios of this period. Many of the truncated and finely engraved images showed female anatomy in all shapes and sizes of which the Hunter folio is just one example. The lack of open access to the life class for single men or female artists would necessitate their learning anatomy from such folios and with the growing medical interest in biological sex and sexual differences (what we today call gender), there was a growing market for publications of this kind.

Scientific Beauty: Re-designing the Female Form

Anatomists such as William Cheselden, Bernard Siegfried Albinus and Samuel Thomas von Soemmerring all made valiant attempts to bring art, beauty and anatomy together in the rendering of skeletal anatomies. Naturally, anatomical folios used in the teaching of art (a number of which could be found in the Royal Academy library), had the scientific power to influence artists in their studies. In addition to the rules of Vitruvian proportions, classical ideals of beauty and the slavish adherence to anatomical accuracy, artists were beginning to address new scientific theories concerning female anatomies and their biology.⁵⁹ Both artists and anatomists inherited Marcus Vitruvius' rule of human proportion which he expounds in book III, 'The Planning of Temples': he understood the body in terms of architecture, well-blanced 'perfect' geometrical forms.⁶⁰ And in 1734 anatomist Bernard Albinus drew a male skeleton taking three months to complete, showing three different perspectives whilst using architectonic methods of proportion. He drew the skeleton thus:

Not free hand as is customary, but from actual measure... and by collecting data from one body after another, and making a composite according to rules so that actual truth will be displayed... All [drawings] have been measured, brought down to scale ... as architects do.⁶¹

Schemata of representation employed rules, measurements and anatomically-proven 'truths'. Perhaps for the first time, a

serious attempt was being made by artists and anatomists to link geometry and sex/biology together. According to Kenneth Clark:

the fact that we can base our argument either way on this unexpected union of sex and geometry is a proof of how deeply the concept of the nude is linked with our most elementary notions of order and design.⁶²

The study of the nude figure and understanding its physiology were being re-addressed not only by scientists and anatomists but also by artists. Medical inquiry into a woman's biological state began influencing art-anatomy depictions of both her inner and outer physiological structure. The body, like a building, is made-up of parts fitting together and the human skeleton and muscles likened to the "interaction of shaft and vault or wall and buttress" giving shape, balance, harmony, volume and function. This idea is still as relevant now and was described by Matisse in 1908 thus: "Fit your parts into one another and build up your figure as a carpenter does a house. Everything must be constructed - built up of parts that make a unit: a tree like a human body, a human body like a cathedral".⁶³

The eighteenth century was culturally re-designing the body. For despite analytical, scientific and medical mechanisation of the human form, art constantly reminds us that we are more than just the sum of our parts. Art-anatomy practices increasingly became multi-faceted as both artists and anatomists assimilated a new 'look' and design to the human

figure. The shape of the body is both physiologically determined and artificially re-created. This is most noticeable during the eighteenth century where fashionable dress, masks and masquerading, corsetry and the wearing of patches was part of everyday life. Science and art were not alone in measuring the body for the wearing of stays and the emergence of the fashionable measured body became part of society's image. "The body is like an unknown territory", Margaret Walters suggests, "gradually mapped and measured".⁶⁴ Hogarth's "Line of beauty", Burke's and Reynold's calls for harmony and proportion, investigation into scientific matter and medical objectivity all had one thing in common: measurement.

The female body was moulded, measured, masqueraded and medicalized. Fashion and physique went hand-in-hand and consequently anatomists such as Hunter and Soemmerring noticed how the slenderness of shoes and the tightness of stays were physically altering the shape of women. William Hunter observed "that the natural position and movement of the feet" was changing because "the fashion of turning them outwards was contrary to the intent of nature, as might be seen from the structure of the bones".⁶⁵ Joshua Reynolds also urged his students not to disfigure the human form nor "disguise nature" by means of "hair-dressers, and tailors, in their various schools of deformity".⁶⁶ Hogarth however, encouraged females to change their physical appearance and wear the "line of beauty" which became a trade-name for the corset. A woman could now choose to alter her shape "... to the modern

fashion".⁶⁷ In one of his Academy lectures Hunter too warns against the unnatural "straight lacing of the English ladies".⁶⁸ David Kunzle's article "The Corset as Erotic Alchemy: From Rococo Galanterie to Montaut's Physiologies",⁶⁹ reveals the emergence of the stay-maker during the eighteenth century as an important feature of female life: the sexually predatory nature of the stay-maker can be likened to Roy Porter's interpretation of men-midwives who visit their female patients in their boudoirs.⁷⁰ In "concealing the faults of nature" the stays re-moulded the body which by some physicians and theoreticians was interpreted as "an instrument of unnatural social conditioning".⁷¹ The stays can also be associated with what Dorinda Outram calls "Boudoir politics" which she interprets as "the exchange of political gifts for sexual favours".⁷² John Berger's notion that "men survey women before treating them" can be seen operating in the boudoir and as a passive spectator the female is both 'surveyed' and 'surveyor': "consequently how a woman appears to a man can determine how she will be treated".⁷³

The eighteenth-century woman is constantly having something done to her: the man-midwife inspects her, the stay-maker measures her, the artist paints her, the scientist demystifies her biology, the anatomist dissects her, and finally the wax modeller re-designs her. A question pertinent to such cultural 'givens' is asked by Dorinda Outram:

We have to ask too how, and to what extent, women in this period constructed their own physical self-image and how that self-image

was related by them to experiences in the public realm.⁷⁴

Simone de Beavoir's understanding of women's image and position in society has its foundation in their biological 'enslaved' selves, whereas Sherry Ortner's definition of woman is that she is a biological and social construct of society, bringing to bear differences between a "cultural view" and "social actuality".⁷⁵ Biological and hierarchical divisions between the sexes in terms of their skeletons has been explored by Londa Schiebinger whose research found that it was not until 1759 that the "female skeleton makes her debut".⁷⁶ Up to this time all depictions of skeletons were of males, even those representing children and females, and it was not until the latter half of the eighteenth century that women were viewed as physiologically different from men. Schiebinger argues thus: "The revolution in views of sex and gender of the 1750s-1790s brought with it a new appreciation of women's unique sexual character".⁷⁷ Moreover, the anatomist, Samuel Thomas von Soemmerring, was not only interested in identifying the female skeleton but was concerned with the physiological effects of women who wore tightly-fitting stays. A set of drawings by Soemmerring entitled 'Effects of the Corset' depict the affects on the female showing crushed rib-cages and deformities to the spine.⁷⁸ Although stays were thought to hide minor deformities they also created some. Posture, physiognomy and manners became sciences which identified not only emotions but also

class, and some manuals produced at this time gave illustrations showing correct body posture, which by definition revealed one's behaviour. Alice Browne's The Eighteenth-Century Feminist Mind (1987), reveals the social and physical implications governing the wearing of stays which could be seen as chastity and correctness. While giving a new line of artistic beauty to the body the medical profession were doubtful as to their function.⁷⁹

The wearing of a corset truncated, fragmented and divided the body in two. It covered just enough to reveal parts of the anatomy that were decidedly 'female': breasts and sexual organs. Thus, the female anatomy was not only being re-shaped by art-anatomy images but by means of fashion which she chose. She had the power to re-mould her own external body while the medical profession re-thought her internal one. The female wax models show both inner and outer woman (see Chapter Five). She is measured and moulded in wax along the lines of natural and idealised woman and is thus understood in terms of layers. The wax torso revealingly comes apart as the tightly-sculpted corset comes away. Medical exactness, measured movements and scientific sexuality are seen in both natural woman and her artificially constructed self. The sectioning, fragmenting and splitting process of the female anatomy, therefore, was not peculiar to the realm of man-made art-anatomy images. The anatomical sectioning of which Ludmilla Jordanova accuses William Hunter is not only a pictorial device but has some foundations in the fashionable world of females. Fashion,

anatomy, portraits and sculptured busts each fragmented the body in their own way: by design. Jombert's Methode Pour Apprendre Le Dessin (1784), portrays the female form as calculated, measured, identified and re-designed by mathematical science.⁸⁰ Artists and medical men followed iconographic systems resulting in anatomic arithmetic. The illustration shown over the page represents classical ideals which can be measured, designed and used by artists and anatomists accordingly. The following section examines some of the medical folios involving artists and anatomists which resulted in images of dissected anatomies which, though not exclusively female, depicted images of generation as well as mainstream physiology.

II : A Comparative Analysis of Art-Anatomy Folios in the Eighteenth Century

"He seemed to me to be a butcher and nothing else". These words describe dissections carried-out by an unnamed anatomist referred to in a letter from Peter Camper to William Hunter, dated 25th December 1749.⁸¹ This view was shared by many lay people in eighteenth-century England, as we have

already witnessed, but it is interesting to observe that anatomists also had their classification of 'gentleman-anatomists' and 'butcher-anatomists'. The majority of medical men naturally favoured dissection, believing it to be the only true method of scientifically and medically understanding the human body. Practical dissection acquired knowledge, experience and skill, yet this was not sufficient in itself and anatomists felt the need visually to capture whole and parts of the cadaver. The majority of medical men relied upon the artist's eye and hand in translating anatomical details.

The term that has been coined - 'art-anatomy' - describes the subject but not the content nor the form.⁸² If we agree that aesthetics is part of visual understanding then we have an agreed level of well-balanced medical and artistic skills working together. This unison of art-anatomy practices, like great art, should be enduring, thought-provoking and pleasing.⁸³ The anatomist deals with the 'known', the factual, the observed, while the artist interprets the world around him - the real and the unreal: "The artist, in effect, does not ask what is something truly, but asks rather, what else is it?".⁸⁴ As we confront an art-anatomy image do we feel this is a 'privileged object' removed from daily life, and can any of the following ideals of fine art be attributed to it?: 1) is it arousing and gratifying our aesthetic sense of the beautiful manifest in form? 2) does it give a pleasure of understanding it? 3) is it durable, will it stand the test of time? 4) does it evoke feelings of the human condition? 5) is

it unique? 6) is it an original? and, 7) does it incorporate some kind of perfection, showing mastery of technical skill and precision?⁸⁵ Does it show possibilities rather than necessity and does it embody a "mystery" or as Wittgenstein calls it, the "temptation to try and make the Spirit explicit".⁸⁶ In addressing some of these issues we can ask a very simple question - what distinguishes art-anatomy practices from high art? In its crudest form the answer is the meeting of two professions. This unifying element creates a bond, a purposeful decision from both parties that the 're-creation' of a deceased body is of vital importance to the anatomical and artistic understanding and interpretation of ourselves. It is often debatable as to which 'truth' is being expressed, either the artist's or the anatomist's. As I have already suggested regarding the Hunter folio, it was his own vision of science that resulted in the analytical images of woman.

If we accept the canon that good art is about "penetrating truths", illuminating that which before was unknown or un-seen, differentiation then has to be made between seeing and looking, appearance and reality.⁸⁷ William Hunter, like many of his contemporaries, published anatomical drawings to be 'read' on an immediate and surface level.⁸⁸ For him, as Jordanova writes, "truth was on the surface", yet I cannot agree with her further statement that, "seeing is itself an act of understanding and knowing".⁸⁹ I suggest that looking or seeing are not wholly sufficient without awareness: "Seeing without awareness, as visual art, is just short of blindness.

Seeing with awareness is a visual experience, it is an art".⁹⁰ Seeing therefore, and apprehending the anatomical figure is not complete without understanding. The body's "natural appearance" as represented through the engravings display Hunter's conception of what nature and reality are to him. He fails to distinguish between what Frederick Schiller calls "sheer appearance as distinguished from the underlying reality".⁹¹ Reality, nature, appearance and apprehension are fused together for Hunter. He does not intend the viewer to seek additional thoughts or feelings regarding the dissected figures, nor does he invite us to enter into a "kind of friendship" as one could with a great work of art.⁹² Hunter does not offer what Martin Buber calls the "I-thou relationship".⁹³

The discrepancies between theory and practice to be found in the Hunter lectures are similar to those in Reynolds' Discourses, where continuity of the main concepts are intermittently interspersed with irregular ideas on theory and practice. John Brisbane's Anatomy of Painting (1769), dealt with artistic anatomy in a similar manner to Hunter's folio and was to be found in the Academy's library. Brisbane (?-1776), anatomist and patron of the arts was dissatisfied with anatomical teachings for artists and medical students and in this publication tried to rectify this.⁹⁴ Like Hunter, he maintained that artists needed a different type of anatomical knowledge to that of medical men, believing that more knowledge could be acquired from good drawing than dissection. The

Anatomy of Painting represents three skeletons and three 'muscle-men' executed on a small scale after Bernard Siegfried Albinus with accompanying outline plates and text.⁹⁵

Brisbane's philosophy supports my argument that artists have a different way of perceiving and interpreting the human body to that of anatomists. He believed that artistic licence brought freedom and should be employed even when portraying medical or scientific facts.⁹⁶ Albinus's anatomical atlas was also widely consulted by artists and medical men and Benjamin Robert Haydon whilst a young student "was mad for buying Albinus", and could often be found "with his Albinus on the floor, stretched out on his belly, studying".⁹⁷

Bernard Albinus (1697-1770) in 1749 published his folio Tables of Anatomy which consisted of linear figures finely engraved with very little artistic expression. The mechanical-looking drawings fail to add anything to the dull and lifeless attitudes of the figures.⁹⁸ It is surprising that the drawings are not more artistically rendered, as the folio was directed at artists and Albinus himself wrote on art and ideal beauty. The Albinus figures are restrained and controlled by the perspective principles which he employs in order to direct and focus the readers' eye: he governs what is and what is not observed.⁹⁹ The scientific measurement both in looking at the figures and in their construction is calculated upon mathematical and medical laws governing eighteenth-century thought; the disciplines of anatomy, art, taste and harmony are here exemplified in the Albinus folio. Although Haydon

purchased the Albinus folio he also "bought Bell's book on Anatomy and a few casts, and at once began his studies".¹⁰⁰ Charles Bell's Anatomy of Expression contains finely-engraved drawings of parts of the anatomy and is medium in size though as nothing compared to the grandiose elephant-size folio of Hunter. The Annals of the Fine Arts announced in April 1819 that "Messrs. Harvey, Webb, and Chatfield, have made some capital anatomical Drawings".¹⁰¹ And for the same month it reported that "anatomical observations on boxers at the Minor Theatre, Catherine-Street", were available to artists and medical men.¹⁰² Anatomical comparisons should constantly be observed between the living and the dead Robert Knox stresses in A Manual of Artistic Anatomy (1825): "When you draw a dissected limb be sure to sketch the living one besides it, that you may at once contrast them and note the difference".¹⁰³ Knox was against the Royal Academy primarily because of what he called the 'Anatomical School', where too much emphasis was placed on the dead and not the living.

As we have already seen, the Academy library housed a number of medical folios for student use and among these were Peter Camper's Comparative Anatomy (1794), William Cheselden's Anatomy of the Bones (1769), Stubbs' Anatomy of the Horse (1766), and Albinus's Tables of Anatomy (1749). From large-scale atlases to pocket-size texts, manuals and folios found a new and interested audience in the artistic community. A review of T. J. Armiger's Rudiments of the Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Body (1816), described it as "a most

useful little pocket compendium of anatomy, though not illustrated".¹⁰⁴ Probably the best-known pre-Hunter folio and the founding father of art-anatomy treatise is Andreas Vesalius who in 1543 published De Humani Corporis Fabrica, a copy of which could also be found in the Academy library. However, artists such as Haydon and Wilkie very rarely mention using the Vesalius, favouring the Albinus and Bell folios. (see Appendix I for a list of medical books at the Academy).

The medical literature chosen in this chapter has links with the Royal Academy either by artist or because it was in the Academy library. One such publication is Simpson's The Anatomy of the Bones, and Muscles (1825) (referred to in Chapter Three), where all the lithographic plates are "drawn from Nature" by W. H. Brooke and Plates V, VIII, XIV all drawn "on the stone by W. Fairland".¹⁰⁵ These plates by William Fairland depict muscles of torso, hands and a full-length frontal figure showing muscular development of the male, and Plate XIV is a drawing by Fairland taken from the Albinus folio.¹⁰⁶ William Fairland can be identified as having exhibited drawings and paintings with the Society of Artists. In 1822, for his rendering of a 'Male Figure'; he was awarded a prize by the Society: "... for an anatomical drawing from a cast, the Silver Isis Medal".¹⁰⁷ Although Simpson was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London he also gave lectures to art students and it was most likely through his connexions with the art world that he met Fairland.¹⁰⁸ John Flaxman's Anatomical Studies of the Bones and Muscles, for the

Use of Artists (1833), taken from his own drawings with engravings by Henry Landseer is a large slim volume of anatomical images, dedicated to Francis Chantrey, R.A., in "admiration of his talents".¹⁰⁹ Throughout the folio the drawings are clear and precise black and white renditions, well placed on the page showing superficial muscles only. The anatomy reveals the various stages of movement as it affects bodily tension. In the preface Flaxman writes:

An intimate knowledge of the human frame in its anatomical structure, is only to be obtained by long and laborious examination, assisted by the use of the knife amid the offensive details of the dissecting-room...¹¹⁰

Although the drawings were executed in the "offensive" dissecting room, none of the figures reveal intestinal dissection, showing only truncated parts of the body with detail to superficial muscles which lie directly beneath the skin. Plate II is not dissimilar to some of Ercole Lelli's anatomical drawings showing full-length male figures. No doubt Flaxman was familiar with Lelli's work as he had travelled extensively in Italy and could have seen Lelli's finely-crafted wooden muscle-men at the Anatomy Theatre in Bologna and in London could purchase Lelli's Anatomia Esterna del Corpo Umano per Use de' Pittori (1770), which included anatomical and skeletal drawings.¹¹¹

Not all art-anatomy folios were in book form, some came as individual sheets or as large panels depicting anatomical figures. Mezzotint-plates in Charles Nicolas Jenty's

Demonstration of the Human Structure (1757), depict the female nude as a painter would portray the Madonna - she is soft, smooth and complete.¹¹² She is the epitome of motherhood (see over the page). Similarly, anatomist Jacques Fabien Gautier D'Agoty produced mezzotint-plates and large painted panels of women in advanced pregnancy. D'Agoty (1717-1785), produced a spectacular folio Myologie Complétée en Couleur et Grandeur Naturelle (1746-48), consisting of large coloured plates.¹¹³ The technique is reminiscent of Jenty's soft contours of coloured mezzotints giving undulating pastel effects.¹¹⁴ In addition to this folio D'Agoty executed twelve painted panels now housed in the Wellcome Collection (London). It is not known whether the paintings were executed before or after the folio but the paintings are on stretcher-frames, not in any sequence, and probably originally intended for the walls of an anatomy theatre.¹¹⁵ The colouring of the panels corresponds to the mezzotint plates in the folio and it could be suggested that the plates came after the paintings. The colour, stylisation and attitudes of the figures on the panels resemble those in the medical atlas, especially Plate III which depicts a head turned upwards, showing a face with fragmented sections of face and neck, as though in motion.¹¹⁶ Dominant colours of the paintings and the plates include deep bottle-green, red, beige and black with Plate II resembling one of the painted panels showing a head revealing muscles, detailing inner and outer workings of the eye. 'Explication De Tous les Muscles De La Tête' (Plate I) uncovering a head turning towards the left-

hand side, rendered in strong red and pink mezzotint.¹¹⁷

The panels display both the internal and external boundaries of generation: the women are viewed from all sides, swollen bellies or vacuous crater-like holes abound, the women look out at the viewer with knowingness (see over the page). Images of degeneration and death are represented by regeneration with gynaecological organs. D'Agoty's coloured-plate of a young female could be described as an 'anatomic angel' and is not unlike the youthful and coquettish portrayals found in a Fragonard painting.¹¹⁸ We see a profiled rose-blushed cheek set against curly brown hair held in place by a head-band. The rear view displays superficial bone and muscle structure: she wears her anatomical armoury as protection from deeper penetration of intestinal investigation. Like so many of the female bodies used in medical imagery during the eighteenth century woman becomes a medical tool, a visual device. We perceive this image of femaleness as naked and dead: she is both adorned angel and medically mutilated, (see over the page).

Other folios such as Francesco Antommarchi's, published in 1826, were intended for more obvious educational purposes and could be used by artists and medical students.¹¹⁹ The life-size diagrammatic anatomies were made so that after assembling three of the two-foot plates a complete human figure was created. These instructional lithographic sheets revealed a six-foot human, showing either skeleton or superficial muscles.¹²⁰ Anatomies such as these, uncovering muscles,

arterial systems, nervous systems and skeleton were executed in bright blue, blood red, maroon, pink and white. The charting and mapping of the body in this way substituted for three-dimensional skeletons and wax models that were more expensive and not so easily available to students.

Having looked at medical folios for artists during the eighteenth century, and having examined lectures and discourses of both Hunter and Reynolds, the following examines the nineteenth century art-anatomy folios. This section of the thesis undertakes a comparative examination of art education, its anatomy teachers, students and cultural attitudes toward art-anatomy practices from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, taking into account educational developments and folios being produced for artistic and medical use.

III : Art and Anatomy Practices in the Nineteenth Century

Cultural iconography of the human figure usually denotes the promise of something more. It can arouse unfulfilled sexual fantasies, commodity-ownership relations, paternal feelings, or question the very existence of 'being' as did the images of life and death during the eighteenth-century. As Adrian Stokes proposes: "The human body thus conceived is a promise of sanity",¹²¹ or as Reynolds would interpret it, the human figure is a promise of something 'fixed' and stable adhering to rules. Representations of the human form whether paintings or anatomic illustrations portray body-images as cultural commodities. The investigations of Outram, Pateman and Berger show that body-image belongs to individual self and to public and civic society. Dorinda Outram describes the difference in body-image between the peasants and middle-classes during the French Revolution. This is a political and cultural image of self, not personified: "The body was crucial to the redefinition of sovereignty in the state...After the Revolution, selfhood and political structures progressively cut loose from one another".¹²² For Outram and Berger the body (especially the female) becomes a sign and cultural symbol for external reality, leading Outram to write:

Bodies are thus both products and agents in the social order, which is itself not moved by the hand of God, but is entirely constructed by the virtue of the powers immanent in each citizen.¹²³

Carol Pateman's The Sexual Contract (1988), examines the role and representation of a woman through her social and biological self, and like Outram, Pateman brings into question both civil and personal body-image through sexual and social contracts:

"The body, sex and sexual difference are inseparable from the individual if civil subordination is to be created and called freedom".¹²⁴ Pateman and Berger are also concerned with issues of property, ownership and possession of the human figure, most notably that of the female:

The social presence of a woman is different in kind from that of a man. A man's presence is dependent upon the promise of power which he embodies. The promised power may be moral, physical, temperamental, economic, social,- but its object is always exterior to the man.¹²⁵

The "political culture of the body" that Outram speaks of can therefore be seen through images showing types of dress, posture, chosen painting medium (oil or otherwise), scale of canvas and physiology.¹²⁶ The body-image as a cultural, political, scientific, erotic and fashionable state is most evident through visual representation; real, allegorical or symbolic. Part of eighteenth-century understanding of the body was by means of identifying self with images of life and death. For instance, the wax models revealing death and reproduction were just as important as cultural icons as a painting by Reynolds. Art-anatomy images provoked feelings of enquiry and curiosity of self, both external and internal. Scientific matter (measured) and divine maker (unknown) emerged as one

through such images of life and death. As Philippe Ariès shows, life and death were viewed with the same scientific eye:

Death and the dead body themselves constitute objects of scientific investigation, quite apart from the causes of death; men studied death before they knew its causes; their motives were not solely to discover these. They looked at the dead body just as later they looked at the live body of the sick man in his bed. ¹²⁷

Cultural ideologies, medical research and artistic practices shaped and designed images of art-anatomy. The education that accompanied such practices also changed as society altered and values were re-thought, and so it was in the nineteenth century with the emergence of state-controlled art education. Figures in the art-anatomy folios of the Enlightenment were created in an atmosphere of scientific inquiry and, as already shown in this chapter, shaped not only the two-dimensional design of a human figure but directed anatomical teachings. The ideas and practices employed by both Reynolds and Hunter made them figure-heads of their time. However, during the first half of the next century changes were implemented in medical and art education. A significant change in education came about when women artists became more involved in running private drawing schools and attended classes alongside male colleagues. However, changes such as these did not happen overnight and in some instances it was the end of the nineteenth century before female students saw the first glimmer of educational reform.

Art Education and Anatomical Instruction, between 1770 and 1870

Changes in medical and art education emerged during the 1820s and 1830s, re-locating it both geographically and professionally. Until the 1820s medical education had been made up of hospitals, private anatomy schools and the well-established Royal College of Physicians and the Royal College of Surgeons. However during this period the medical sector was implementing control and change regarding the qualifications it awarded, making it increasingly difficult for private anatomists such as Edward Grainger, Joshua Brookes and Joseph Carpue to continue their independent schools. The story of the rise and fall of such anatomists is recounted by Adrian Desmond who has examined the political and professional structures dominating nineteenth-century medicine. Desmond argues that by the 1830s a new school of thought was taking over medical education:

By 1830 the old eighteenth-century schools were dead or decaying, the survivors being forced out of business by the College of Surgeons and the arrival of the university. Their place was taken by a new group of aggressively politicized schools, founded in private residences or converted blocks near the London hospitals.¹²⁸

The vision of change that Desmond portrays is not so dissimilar from the metamorphosis that art education was undergoing.

In 1837 full-time courses in art education came into being with the Government School of Design in Somerset House, once the home of the Royal Academy. However, these two schools

of thought could not have been farther apart. The School of Design was part of the new official policy in recognizing "the need for extending a knowledge of the arts and the principles of design among the people" and to encourage and direct application of the arts to industry.¹²⁹ This was the first step taken by the State to sponsor art education in a practical way and four years later the first course for art teachers was set up.¹³⁰ From the outset it was clear that Members on the Select Committee sought to restrict students from attending classes that might lead them to high art, resolving that "drawing from the human figure should not be taught to students".¹³¹ Neither did the School of Design cater for studying of the human figure, drawing from cadavers nor drawing.¹³² Change in art education, like the new medical reforms, were severing connexions both in principle and practice with the educational doctrines of the early Royal Academy of Arts. The new Government incentive was to produce artisans for industry, not to breed artists. The elitism and high ideals that the Royal Academy was founded upon did not apply to Schools of Design in the nineteenth century.

Under the direction of William Dyce at Somerset House, drawing from the nude was not included in the general course of instruction, and Dyce insisted that life drawing was "not to be entered upon unless the future prospect of the student needs it".¹³³ Outraged at these educational changes in art Benjamin Haydon established an alternative school with the assistance of William Ewart and Sir Thomas Wyse in St. Martin's Street,

Leicester Square. However, this venture proved unsuccessful and, like the private medical schools, the school was forced to close down in 1839.¹³⁴ As the Royal Academy students had adhered to life class and anatomy teachings, now students in Government training slavishly adhered to rote learning and copying geometric patterns, preparing themselves for industry.¹³⁵ Sir Stafford Northcote, the chairman from the Board of Trade, proposed that national education ought to be in every town, and called for more than the existing "eight or ten schools".¹³⁶ Both Henry Cole and Northcote recommended new and improved methods in art education and by 1853 under the leadership of Cole and Richard Redgrave the Department of Science and Art was founded.¹³⁷ In his opening address to the Department of Science and Art in 1853 Richard Redgrave said that although art is "thought to be a gift - given only to a few" exercising "innate feeling and perception", these acquisitions are incomplete and might "be improved" and aided, strengthened and perfected by a "knowledge of the sciences which relate to that art".¹³⁸ Conversely, Redgrave concludes, "in the same manner ... the hand, by practice, becomes the obedient instrument and exponent of the mental gifts".¹³⁹

Some, even those Academicians who had been educated under the Royal Academy's regime, applauded such reforms in art education, supporting a more egalitarian system as opposed to a dictatorship of taste as they saw it, imposed on the uneducated in society.¹⁴⁰ In 1864 the Select Committee reported that a Questionnaire involving 64 questions had been sent to head-

masters of 71 schools around the country.¹⁴¹ The Committee received all 71 replies which included topics such as certificates, student prizes, art pupil teacherships, artisans, medal awards, inspections, figure and design, central museum and its function, annual meetings of art masters.¹⁴² It transpired that only one school taught life drawing, the Lambeth School under the direction of Mr John Sparkes (he was the only instructor to answer questions 49 and 50). He stated that the school had: "A set of diagrams for anatomy and design, drawn by the Master: because none are issued by the Department [and] A Life Class for the nude".¹⁴³

The regulations of 1843 excluded life drawing, and drawing from casts and ornaments took its place. However, in 1844 Benjamin Haydon established a School of Design in Manchester "with the figure as the basis"; his students here gathered themselves into a private group and continued to draw the figure which he saw as a victory against the opposition in the Council, prompting Haydon to write:

But if the young men only remain sound,
and continue to draw the figure, those
gentlemen in London will one day be brought
to acknowledge their error. It is pitiable
to find such obstanacy and ignorance, wilful
intentional ignornance, of what is for ^{this}
great country's good, in high places. ¹⁴⁴

Not everyone shared Haydon's enthusiasm for life class teaching and William Peters published a pamphlet on anti-nudery entitled, An Appeal Against the Practice of Studying from Nude Human Beings by British Artists, and in Public Schools of

Design (1854).¹⁴⁵ A number of artists and medical men concerned with the demise of the life class in Government Schools took it upon themselves to arrange for figure drawing to be part of their curriculum. One such supporter of art-anatomy classes was John Marshall who, as it will become evident later in this section, not only taught at South Kensington but held a senior post as a surgeon at University College Hospital. The Government was producing a type of art training that was not comparable to eighteenth-century standards and what was once the core curriculum such as life drawing and anatomical instruction could no longer be found in the new and revised nineteenth-century version. Crusaders such as Benjamin Haydon, Charles Bell and John Marshall relentlessly made efforts to include life drawing in their teachings.

While some, like Peters, canvassed for the prohibiting of nude figures others, such as female artists, petitioned for easier access into life classes which had both male and female nudes. (see Appendix II for a discussion of female artists). Government training eventually broke away from the monotonous copying of objects, casts and pattern drawing for industrial use and moved towards a fine art education, providing choices in subjects from life classes to design modelling.¹⁴⁶ John Marshall was not only innovative in establishing art-anatomy classes for male and female artists but he also produced a number of medical folios for art students in the nineteenth-century and it is his and Charles Bell's creative work in this

field that we now turn our attention.

IV : Charles Bell and John Marshall: Reformers of Art-Anatomy Education in the Nineteenth Century

Discussion on Charles Bell has until now focused on the social and professional links that he formed with artists at the Royal Academy at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Though he was denied the professorship at the Royal Academy on three occasions this did not deter him from undertaking private teaching in art and anatomy. His lectures annotated with drawings were published in book form and from such art-anatomy treatise together with his work on the brain, the nervous system, mechanism of the hand and circulation of the blood, Bell secured a unique position for himself in the fields of art and medicine. Bell's figures were usually drawn by himself and some of the lesser-known sketches of wounded soldiers showing various mutilations and diseases are quite competent.¹⁴⁷ Colour, proportion, muscles in arms and details of hands and fingers are as delicately drawn as any by John Flaxman. He provided alternative views on art and anatomy, giving students the opportunities to discover human and comparative anatomy for themselves. During the nineteenth century his theories and

medical folios influenced artists such as John Flaxman, Benjamin Haydon, William Holman Hunt and John Everett Millais; each adapted Bell's anatomical works to suit their own figure drawings.

Charles Bell and The Fragmentary Nature of Parts and Whole Bodies

Charles Bell's images, like those produced under the direction of Hunter, incorporated truncation, sectioning and fragmentation of the body. Hunter's lecture on muscular development delivered to Academy students describes the sectioning of parts and whole bodies and the necessity of reducing larger body mass into smaller, more detailed parts:

And by dividing the Larger or portions of the body into their smaller constituent parts, it brings out an arrangement and order in what would otherwise appear confusion. ¹⁴⁸

The obstetrical bodies shown in Hunter's Gravid Uterus (as well as his plaster models) are all headless: they are void of individuality, presumably representing woman in general. In contrast, the continental waxes made at the same time as Hunter's reveal not only a head but a face full of expression. However, Charles Estienne during the sixteenth-century had

cautioned his medical students not to expose the head or 'privities' of a cadaver for fear of arousing fantasies in the minds of the spectators.¹⁴⁹ It seems that this is exactly what the female wax models were intended to do. Two of the most striking features of the female waxes are her genitalia and face: the uncovering of uterus displays her biology whilst her head, reinforced by the worldly adornment of pearls around the neck, represents pleasure. Regarding the human face Kenneth Clark observes: "We look first at the face. It is through facial expression that every intimacy begins".¹⁵⁰

The head, like genitalia, is just one part of the whole person. These are symbols not only of physiological completeness but of spiritual/divine or superstitious beliefs of unity. Such cultural beliefs both for and against the use of death by severing the head from the body can be found in Dorinda Outram's The Body and the French Revolution (1989). The guillotine not only severed the living from the dead, it fragmented the human form.¹⁵¹ Some of the painted studies by Theodore Géricault depict decapitated heads, showing mouths wide open, baring teeth, sunken cheeks with nothing below the neck, leading Outram to write: "It was in terms of this belief that it became possible to posit the survival 'le moi' after the separation of head from body".¹⁵² The cutting of head from body and soul from living-matter as Géricault had shown had wrenched and wedged life and death apart. With such examples of physical and philosophical head and body relationships I seek to show how important the wax models were in the

eighteenth century. For they showed not only a 'new woman' in terms of her own sexual biology but as a whole person, a complete unit. Head, body and reproductive organs were all given equal exposure both anatomically and symbolically. This dialectical relationship between parts and whole, fragmenting and cohesion, incision and suturing was a function in art-anatomy images for both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Adrian Stokes thus argues for this holistic parts-whole dialectic, viewing sex organs as a fragmentary part of the whole. Consequently, human beings are thus defined as whole objects.¹⁵³ Charles Bell executed a number of wax models also. Again, these were fragments of head and limbs rather than whole bodies.¹⁵⁴ They are finely crafted and look more naturalistic than those of Hunter's, which look artificial.

Mannerist art treated the body as a collection of parts "which [could] be enlarged and exaggerated at will";¹⁵⁵ many of the art-anatomy folios also employed this type of visual selecting of parts of the anatomy. This device of sectioning and enlarging anatomical parts was used by the seventeenth century anatomist, Govard Bidloo (1649-1713), who pinned back the flaps of skin (see over the page), revealing the organs of a female cadaver.¹⁵⁶ However, when Gustave Courbet later executed a painting revealing only female genitalia, isolating this part of the anatomy it prompted an onlooker to remark: "By some inconceivable forgetfulness, the artist, who copied his model from nature, had neglected to represent the feet, the legs, the thighs, the stomach, the hips, the chest, the hands,

the arms, the shoulders, the neck, and the head", thus leaving a selected piece of anatomy exposed.¹⁵⁷

The severing of head from body does not always take the form of decapitation and a fine line around the neck, dividing physical space is sometimes enough to symbolize such a dividing process. The pearls around the neck of a wax model draw attention to her face, likewise, the black ribbon around the neck of Manet's 'Olympia' draws attention to her social status: "Her head gives an impression of vacancy: a narrow band of black velvet separates it from the essential part of her being".¹⁵⁸ Charles Bell's dissected female has her face hidden (as proposed by Charles Estienne) by covering the face of the cadaver (see over the page). This device was not peculiar to medical imagery as artists had also used this technique, usually to portray suffering or death. For example, Stefano Maderno's marble statue of 'St. Cecilia' (1600) and Paul Delaroche's nineteenth-century painting of 'The Execution of Lady Jane Grey' both offer female heads covered either completely or with a blindfold.¹⁵⁹ The draped and partially-wrapped life models that art students painted at the Royal Academy and Government Schools resemble some of Bell's images of male and female anatomies. The viewer's attention is directed to the relevant parts of the anatomy by revealing and concealing, fragmenting and selecting parts of the dissected body. Such pictorial judgments concerning the isolating and selecting processes of the body has usually been carried-out by the time it reaches the spectator either by the anatomist or

the artist.

Bell, like John Marshall, provided anatomical teaching when art students needed an alternative outlet to the already existent art school system. Charles Bell offered anatomy classes at a time when the Royal Academy dominated art education and when the only other options for interested artists were private anatomy schools. John Marshall's interest in artists flourished in an atmosphere quite different; this was a period of change and educational reform with the founding of University College, the Slade School of Art and the Government Schools.

John Marshall's Life Size Diagrams and Educational Reform

John Marshall (1818-1891) was born in Cambridge and later studied physiology under Professor Sharpey at University College, London. In 1844 he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and twenty-two years later was appointed Professor of Surgery at University College in 1866.¹⁶⁰ On the 16th May, 1873, he was elected Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts, a post which he held until 1890.¹⁶¹ John Marshall echoed the sentiments of William Hunter when he told his students: "The muscles clothe the skeleton, whilst the skin covers all".¹⁶² Marshall also

advised artists to observe their own anatomical form as well as that of the model. They were encouraged to record "length, position and general shape of the bones" and their effect on the proportion and forms of the several parts, especially on those limbs which show contrast, "the points where they are least, and those where they are most thickly covered, could all be easily investigated".¹⁶³ Marshall played a large part in the development of both art and medical education during the 1860s and 1870s, and in the University College Calendar for 1871-1872 he was acknowledged for giving "a valuable and suggestive Report on the Fine Art School", for giving help and advice in establishing the Slade School.¹⁶⁴ Sir Rickman Godlee a member of University College wrote of Marshall at this time:

He had many outlooks on life ... primarily he was an anatomist with a special leaning towards artistic anatomy, then a physiologist and, as it were, secondarily a surgeon.¹⁶⁵

Marshall's fame rests on his ability to teach anatomy to artists as well as publishing a number of books on artistic anatomy.¹⁶⁶ In 1853 he delivered his first course of lectures on anatomy to art students at the Central Training School at Marlborough House; the course proved to be so popular that he repeated the lectures when the School moved to South Kensington.¹⁶⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that Marshall ever did teach at the Slade even though he was very involved with University College and its hospital. He claimed that the education of an artist should incorporate teachings of

anatomical facts and in doing this, the "training of the artist's mind" would enable him "to strengthen his ability to embody his conceptions, and will thus assist in elevating him to the highest Position in his art".¹⁶⁸

The anatomy lectures which for over twenty years Marshall delivered to students at the Royal Academy and Government School, emphasized the value of collaborative efforts between artists and anatomists. He proposed that without visual representation by means of illustration, the artist and anatomist "would have utterly failed to keep the accumulating knowledge in the memory" and by using drawing as a tool for observation this would also help develop medical knowledge.¹⁶⁹ In the introduction to his book Anatomy for Artists (1878), he warns against anatomical knowledge becoming a "snare" that is "paraded, obtruded, or misemployed" by the art student.¹⁷⁰ Anatomical education in art schools, Marshall advocated, should not become a "trick of a school, the basis of a conventional method, or the substitute for a knowledge of the living figure".¹⁷¹ Marshall's Anatomy for Artists was partially compiled from his lectures given to the Royal Academy and Government Schools which stressed, as had Hunter's lectures on anatomy, the examination and anatomical description of three physiological divisions. These categories included bones, joints and muscles which, when understood, gave rise to "form, mechanism, and actions of the body", together with the skeleton, "the articulations, and the muscular system".¹⁷² He further states that where ever possible reference should be

made "continually to the life, for the purpose of learning how to translate the facts of the dead structure into the appearances of the living form".¹⁷³ Marshall's ideas on anatomy and education were similar to those proposed by Charles Bell, both anatomists encouraged students to seek opportunities to "dissect the fleshy and tendinous parts of the human body itself" for in doing so, Marshall stated, "the true relations of these and their influences on the surface-form of the living frame, would sooner or later be determined".¹⁷⁴

During the 1860s University College began a series of experimental evening classes and it was during this period that Marshall regularly gave lectures on animal physiology to classes composed exclusively of women. To these classes were added general public lectures on Tuesday evenings and among those in the audience Sir Edward Poynter and John Ruskin.¹⁷⁵ Marshall's lectures to students in the Faculty of Medicine at University College were illustrated by wax models, pathological specimens, drawings and diagrams.¹⁷⁶ Unlike many of his predecessors, Marshall was interested in body weight, volume and proportion. Although anatomists in the eighteenth-century such as Hunter, Albinus and Soemmerring had fleetingly referred to proportion, none of them had really tackled anatomical proportion to the extent to which Marshall did. In 1878 Marshall published one of the first comprehensive art-anatomy treatises on proportion which gave diagrammatic illustrations and text.¹⁷⁷ The Royal Academy artist Joseph Bonomi had previously published a similar folio entitled Proportion of the

Human Figure, which together with Marshall's, was one of the Government Schools recommended texts on anatomy. The 1864 Select Committee reported that anatomical texts and casts should be available to State schools, these included Bourgerie's Anatomical Subjects, Fau's Anatomy, John Bell's Rudimentary Art, and Morghen's Outline of the Human Figure. These together with forty antique casts which consisted of the minutest detail of a hand to male torsos were also available on request.¹⁷⁸ John Marshall's life size anatomical diagrams specially adapted for art students and art schools were to be suspended from ceilings or shown on lecture room walls.¹⁷⁹ Other 'physiological diagrams' each one seven-foot high prepared by the Department of Science and Art could also be purchased for class-room and studio use.¹⁸⁰

By the end of the nineteenth century the design of art-anatomy folios had changed, even from those in Bell's day. John Marshall's images are stark and diagrammatic in contrast to the Hunter and Bell drawings. The elephant-size folio of the eighteenth century showing truncated and detailed parts of female anatomies and Bell's wrapped heads of 'anatomized' women have no place in the bleak and almost banal atmosphere of the folios belonging to Marshall (see over the page). By the 1870s the male figure dominated the anatomical folios whereas in the 1770s it had been the dissected bodies of females that adorned the pages of medical treatises and fugitive sheets. The shift from female anatomies to those of the male can be seen as a cultural and moral revision of Victorian taste and ethics. The

aestheticians of the Enlightenment linked art and Nature to taste; in contrast, the nineteenth-century Romantics (especially Coleridge) looked to art for the "moral idea". Coleridge considering art to be a mediator "and reconciler of, nature and man".¹⁸¹ The Romantics called for the use of imagination and not science in the creative processes of art.¹⁸² The "fixed" and stabilizing concepts of art and science that Reynolds and Hunter spoke of had disappeared in the teaching of anatomy during John Marshall's reign. It is the application of science Reynolds tells his students in Discourse XIII "which alone gives dignity and compass to any art. But to find proper foundations for science is neither to narrow or to vulgarise it".¹⁸³ It is possible to compare this to Henry Cole's description of the connexions between art and science, which are not founded on those ideals once held by the Academy. Although Reynolds had regarded art and science as connected, Cole saw them as divided:

I am afraid that the theory about what Art is, and what it ought to be, is by no means as fixed and definite as it is with regard to chemistry and mechanics; and therefore I think it is necessary for the State itself, in encouraging Art, to establish standards of what is to be done more precisely than is necessary in the Sciences.¹⁸⁴

Anatomy in the context of the life class during the nineteenth-century reiterated some, if not all, of the ideals held by Hunter regarding muscular structure, bodily tension and the skin as a sheet or covering. Reynolds, Hunter, Bell and

Marshall however agreed on one principle, that a sound knowledge of anatomy for the artist "is a most useful aid in practice", giving, as Marshall suggested, "keener powers of observation", necessitating "a closer analysis of the nature of forms".¹⁸⁵ Marshall concludes:

The human form is undoubtedly the most difficult of all to understand, to follow in its complex changes, and to represent either in the solid, or upon a flat surface ... it is the highest aim, the acme of all artistic training, so far as practical drawing and modelling are concerned, to draw and model the human figure accurately.¹⁸⁶ "

Summary

With the increase in student numbers in both art and medical education during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a new market force was created with the growing demand for published works. Practising artists and surgeons saw the benefits in spending time sorting through their better drawings of anatomies and going 'public'. This chapter has not only surveyed contemporary art-anatomy literature but it has aligned these with four main figures in art and medicine. The influences that Reynolds, Hunter, Bell and Marshall had on both the artistic and medical communities cannot be under-estimated for not only did they produce cultural icons of the body but they were instrumental in bringing anatomical education to artists who would have otherwise been denied it. All four men acted as figure-heads for other practising artists and anatomists and in doing so created a bridge between the two professions. The injection of female artists into art-anatomy education was lengthy and protracted, although there had been many notable women artists in the eighteenth-century the restrictions placed on them from institutions such as the Royal Academy, and later the Government Schools, meant that formal training in the life class for women made slow progress. It is clear that there has always been a large contingent of female artists wishing to exhibit their art and receive proper training particularly in the understanding of human anatomy. As I have suggested (Appendix II) because they were not allowed

into the life class they looked to art-anatomy folios for guidance and instruction on this subject, whilst attending private drawing classes.

The cross-section of publications examined in this Chapter indicates the range of art-anatomy folios, from pocket manuals to William Hunter's lavish obstetrical folio. Mascagni thought that confusion regarding the 'essential' and the 'accidental' was inevitable if images replaced text, advocating that the written word could not lie nor deceive, unlike artistic illustration.¹⁸⁷ Anatomists were not alone in their quest for truthful observation and James Northcote refers to this problem in his Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds:

Proving that the painter, by attending to the invariable and general ideas of nature, produces beauty; but that, if he regards minute particularities and accidental discriminations, so far will he deviate from the universal rule, and pollute his canvas with deformity.¹⁸⁸

William Hunter's search for the body's "natural appearance" led him to produce three-dimensional obstetrical models and it is to these and other eighteenth-century anatomical models we now turn. The concluding Chapter investigates the plaster and wax representations of female anatomies whilst at the same time reviewing the evolution of the écorché figures used by artists and anatomists. A number of these anatomical models were executed by female artists who regularly exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Society of Artists. However, like the female painters of the time they were very rarely viewed as

professionals. Though for some reason female wax modellers appear to have had a more dominant and higher-profiled status than other women artists. Many female artists opened their own private museums and because of the nature of the artistic and pathological figurines these museums attracted both artists and medical men.

FOOTNOTES

1. MSS. NOR/6, James Northcote Letters, Royal Academy of Arts archives.
2. Ibid.
3. MSS. RA, A Catalogue of the Library at the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1802.
4. Haydon, B. R. Correspondence and Table-Talk, 2 vols, Chatto and Windus, London 1876, vol. I, p. 20.
5. Haydon, Correspondence, vol. I, p. 21.
6. Ibid. p. 20.
7. Hunter, W. The Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus, Baskerville Press, Birmingham 1774.
8. Brock, C. H. William Hunter 1718-1783, University of Glasgow, Glasgow 1983, p. 58. See Simmons, S. F. An Account of the Life and Writings of the Late Dr. William Hunter MD. W. Richardson for J. Johnson, London 1783.
Illingworth, Sir C. 'Dr. Hunter's Manuscripts and

Letters, the Glasgow Collection', Medical History, 15, 1971, pp. 181-186. Oppenheimer, J. New Aspects of John William Hunter, Heinemann Medical Books, London 1946. Fox, R. Hingston. William Hunter, Anatomist, Physician, Obstetrician (1718-1783), with Notices of His Friends, Cullen, Smellie, Fothergill and Baillie, H. K. Lewis, London 1901.

9. It was not unusual for students at the Academy while specialising in engraving also to attend life classes and anatomy lectures. Lectures of this kind were open to all students.
10. Illingworth, Sir C. The Story of William Hunter, E. & S. Livingstone Ltd, Edinburgh and London 1967, p. 82.
11. Illingworth, William Hunter, p. 83. Simmons, William Hunter, pp. 48-49. For an examination of Strange's life see Dennistoun, J. Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange, Longman Ltd, London 1855. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XIX, pp. 24-25. Strange (circa 1747) went to Rouen, where he studied anatomy under Lecat and drawing under Descamps and in 1749 he went to Paris and placed himself under the supervision of engraver La Bas. Here Strange learnt to use the technique of dry-point, returning to

London in 1750. After another period of travelling through France and Italy he again returned to London in 1765 and in 1768 dissession arose in the 'Incorporated Society of Artists' of which he was a member, and because of disagreements, Strange eventually left the organisation, and later there were quarrels between himself and other Academy artists regarding his involvement with politics. For a detailed account of Strange's etching technique see Hind, A. M.

A History of Engraving and Etching: From the 15th-Century to the Year 1914, Dover Books, New York 1963, p. 204. Further information can be gleaned on the work of gem engraver and sculptor Paul Victor Le Bas, under whom Strange studied in Paris, in Pyke, E. J.

A Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1973, p. 77.

Smith, J. T. Nollekens And His Times, Century Hutchinson Ltd, London 1986, p. 208, regarding Robert Strange's early tutor Cooper in Scotland.

Wheatley, H. B. and Cunningham, P. London Past and Present Its History, Associations, and Traditions, vol. II, John Murray, London 1891, p. 208, for information on Strange's living quarters: "He was living at the Golden Head, in Henrietta Street, in 1756, when he published his proposals for engravings, by subscription, three historical prints - two from Pietro da Cortona, and one from Salvatora Rosa".

For his quarrels with the Royal Academy see Whitley, W.
Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799,
 2 vols, Medical Society, London and Boston 1928,
 vol. 1, pp. 308-3090.

12. Simmons, William Hunter, pp. 46-47.
13. The plates in the Gravid Uterus were executed
 by either French-trained and French engravers;
 Plates I and VII by Francois Simon Ravenet
 (?-1774), Plates II and IX by Louis Gerard Scotin
 (1698-1745), Plate III by Thomas Major (1720-1799),
 Plates IV and VI by Robert Strange (1721-1792), Plate V
 by Johann Sabastian Muller, Plate VIII by Charles
 Griginion (1717-1810), Plates X, XXVII, XXIX by Pierre
 Charles Canot (1710-1777), Plate XI by Pierre Maleuvre,
 Plate XII by J. Mitchell, Plate XIII by von Mechel,
 Plates XIV, XVIII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXXI by
 Menil, Plates XV, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXXI
 by Francois Aliamet (1734-1790), Plate XVI by Michel,
 Plate XVX by J. Fougerson, Plate XX by Henry
 Bryer (?-1799), Plate XXXII Jan van Rymsdyk,
 Plate XXXIII by Thomas Worlidge (1700-1766), Plate
 XXXIV by George Powle. Sir Robert Strange co-ordinated
 the undertaking of the engraved plates.
 See MSS. H.505 The Walter Collection, University of
 Glasgow, where Hunter states: "I will beg leave to show

you my Plates of the Gravid Uterus which I am publishing". MSS. H.503 for correspondence regarding the fate of the copper-plates for the Gravid Uterus. MSS. H.499 taken from the Monthly Review, 11, 1775, p. 305 a review of Hunter's 1774 publication.

Russell, K. F. British Anatomy, 1525-1800; A Bibliography, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1963, p. 137. The Gravid Uterus could originally be purchased in London at the following addresses:

S. Baker and G. Leigh in York Street, T. Cadell in the Strand, D. Wilson and G. Nicol opposite York buildings, and J. Murray in Fleet Street. In 1774 it was sold for £6 6s. but was then remaindered to £3 13s 6d. in 1794.

14. Francois Aliamet had undertaken drawings for the Royal Society of Arts.
15. MSS. Royal Academy Register, 16th March, 1773. For additional drawings by Frederick Bernie see MSS. Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, HF.95-HF.168; Packet A seven original drawings in ink, pencil and wash of foetal anatomies circa 1778; Packet B miscellaneous anatomical drawings signed and dated 1777-1778; Packet B drawings of monsters by Bernie and Rymsdyk signed and dated 1778, 1784; Packet D fifty miscellaneous drawings by Bernie both anatomical and artistic dated 1777-1780. Packet D

drawings of the Gravid Uterus by Rymsdyk and Bernie dated 1769 not used in Hunter's final publication. HF.189 and HF.190 drawings of animal anatomy by Bernie both signed and dated 30th August, 1778, with a note by William Cruikshank.

16. The animal painter Sawrey Gilpin was patronised by the Duke of Cumberland and worked for both William and John Hunter. For animal drawings by him see MSS. HF.5 [5.4] and Packet A, Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow,
17. Waterhouse, E. The Dictionary of British 18th Century Painters, Antique Collectors' Club Ltd, Suffolk, pp. 145-146. Gilpin (1733-1807), was born near Carlisle and died at Brompton. He moved to London in 1747 and was apprenticed to Samuel Scott in Covent Garden where he stayed until 1758. After which time he was patronised by the Hunters and the Duke of Cumberland. Gilpin exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Society of Artists, and after Stubbs, was thought to be the finest animal painter of the period. Sandby, W. History of the Royal Academy of Arts, 2 vols, Longman, Green, Longman et al. London 1862, vol. I, p. 310.

18. A number of human anatomical drawings exist that were never used in Hunter's folio, see MSS. HP.194, Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, a coloured painting of a dissected female breast, signed and dated 1760. Packet K contains seventy anatomical drawings, the majority of which are by Gilpin.
19. Illingworth, William Hunter, p. 83. MS. HR.12, Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, has correspondence regarding Rymsdyk's drawings for William Smellie's Obstetrical Tables, which William Hunter bought at John Harvie's Sale in 1771.
20. Hunter's Gravid Uterus, (1774) preface: "The first ten plates were made from the dissection of a woman, who died suddenly, in the end of her ninth month of pregnancy, in the year 1750. The arteries and the veins were injected with wax of different colours..."
21. Ibid.
22. Brock (ed.), William Hunter, pp. 50-51. Rymsdyk was also known to the Royal Academy and a letter dated 17th April, 1769, was received by Council. The library also housed a couple of Rymsdyk's publications.

23. Illingworth, William Hunter, p. 83.
For a comparative discussion on the Hunter images and the use of anatomical detailing see Jordanova, L. J. 'Gender, Generation and Science: William Hunter's Obstetrical Atlas', in Bynum, W. and Porter, R. (eds), William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1985, pp. 387-412.

24. Oppe, A. P. Alexander and John Robert Cozens, Adam and Charles Black, London 1952, pp. 12ff. Amongst Strange's early acquaintance was with Cozens's father-in-law John Pine and subsequently Cozens himself. Pine had been the master of Strange's original teacher Richard Cooper. Marks, A. S. 'Alexander Cozens - Anatomical Drawing', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 30, 1967, pp. 435-438. For these drawings Marks proposes a date of circa 1753-1754, however he believes that they were not done later than 1758. Hunter's Gravid Uterus, plate XXI, engraved by Aliamet.

25. Spigelius, A. De Formato Foetu Liber, J. B. de Martinis and L. Pasquatus, Padua 1626.

26. Nicholas Blakey was an Irishman who worked chiefly in Paris where he died in 1758. Little is known of this

artist though Ellis Waterhouse cites him as "an eminent painter", see Waterhouse, Dictionary, p. 55. MSS. HF.192, Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow. This is a statement signed and dated 15th June 1749, regarding a dissected body at Hatten Garden: "A female foetus drawn from Nature by Mr. Blakey". Hatton Garden is also the place where Benjamin Robert Haydon procured some cadavers in addition to those at Bell's house. Hunter's Gravid Uterus, plate XXII, engraved by Aliamet.

Edward Edwards (1738-1806) in 1761 was admitted as a student to the St. Martin's Lane Academy where he studied from life, and presumably met William Hunter here also. In 1763 Edwards was employed by John Boydell (1719-1804), to make drawings for engravings. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. VI, pp. 532-533. Boydell had also been a student to W. H. Toms the engraver (c.1714), before opening his own business around 1751. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. II, pp. 1012-1014. Hunter's Gravid Uterus, plate XVI, engraved by Michell.

27. Howship published a leather-bound folio containing "269 Specimens, beautifully drawn from Nature, from colours and tints by Mr Howship". These were taken from John Heaviside's 'morbid anatomy' collection. Howship, J. Drawings of Morbid Anatomy (London 1804),

this manuscript is in the Special Collections, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia, MSS. Z/10/92.

28. Kemp, M. 'The Ages of Man', pp. 76-91, Leonardo Da Vinci, Catalogue, Hayward Gallery, Yale University Press for the South Bank Centre, London 1989, pp. 82-83. See also Kemp, M. Leonardo Da Vinci, The Marvellous Works of Nature and Man, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1981. Kemp, M. 'Dissection and Divinity in Leonardo's Late Anatomies', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 35, 1972, pp. 200-225. Wright, W. 'Leonardo As An Anatomist', Burlington Magazine, 34, 1919, pp. 194-203. Singer, C. 'Notes on Renaissance Artists and Practical Anatomy', Journal of the History of Medicine, V, 1917, i, pp. 79-164. Zubov, V. P. Leonardo Da Vinci, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1968. Steinitz, K. T. Leonardo Da Vinci's Trattato Della Pittura, Munksgaard, Copenhagen 1958.
29. Weitz, M. Problems in Aesthetics, The Macmillan Company, New York 1959.
Croce, B. Aesthetics, Nonpareil Books, Boston 1978.
Bosanquet, B. A History of Aesthetics, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London 1966.
Carritt, E. F. The Theory of Beauty, Methuen and Co., Ltd, London 1949, pp. 219-258 especially for

a discussion on the sublime.

Beardsley, M. C. Aesthetics From Classical Greece To The Present A Short History, The Macmillan Company, New York 1966, Chapter Seven for discussion on the Enlightenment. For reference to the conceptional distinctions between expression and embodiment see Reid, L. A. Meaning in the Arts, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London 1969. idem. A Study in Aesthetics, Greenwood Press Publishers, Westport, Connecticut 1973.

Reid favours the term embodiment to expression which has denotes values, for example, preferring 'creative embodiment', pp. 135-146.

30. Jordanova, 'Gender and William Hunter', pp. 386-412. Jordanova's descriptions of pictorial and cultural representations of violence can be juxtaposed with Marina Warner's 'criminal nudity' of religious and sexual 'knowingness' see Warner, M. Monuments And Maidens. The Allegory of the Female Form, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1985, pp. 294-295.
31. For contemporary discussions in relation to my own thesis and Jordanova's views see Jacobus, M. Fox Keller, E. Shuttleworth, S. (eds), Body/Politics Women and the Discourses of Science, Routledge, New York and London 1990. Moscucci, O. The Science of

Woman Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800-1929,
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990.

Christie, J. and Shuttleworth, S. (eds),
Nature Transfigured Science and Literature, 1700-1900,
Manchester University Press, Manchester 1989.

32. MSS. H46, Hunter Papers, Hunterian Collection,
University of Glasgow archives.
- For a general account of the practices of artists
and medical men see Mayor, A. Hyatt. Artists and
Anatomists, Artists' Limited Edition in Association
with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1984.
- Kemp, 'Ages of Man', Leonardo Da Vinci, catalogue,
pp. 78-79. See also Gould, C. Leonardo The Artist
and the Non-Artist, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London
1975. Keele, K. 'Leonardo Da Vinci's Influence on
Renaissance Anatomy', Medical History, vol. 8, 1964,
pp. 360-370. Kemp, M. "'Il Concetto dell'Anima in
Leonardo's Early Skull Studies", Journal of the
Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol. 34, 1971,
pp. 115-134. For comparisons with other Renaissance
anatomy see Moes, R. and O'Malley, C. 'Realdo Colombo:
On Those Things Rarely Found in Anatomy', Bulletin of
the History of Medicine, vol. 34, 1960, pp. 508-528.
- Szladits, L. 'The Influence of Michelangelo on Some
Anatomical Illustrations', Journal of the History of
Medicine, IX, October 1954, pp. 422-424.

33. Illingworth, William Hunter, pp. 83-84.

34. Porter, R. 'William Hunter: a Surgeon and a Gentleman', in Bynum, W. F. and Porter, R. (eds), William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1985, pp. 30-31. Hunter had seen the Da Vinci studies and was aware of their scale and execution. For accounts of early anatomy see Persaud, T. V. N. Early History of Human Anatomy, Charles C. Thomas, Illinois 1984. Garrison, F. H. The Principles of Anatomic Illustration Before Vesalius, Paul B. Hoeber, New York 1926.

35. Thornton, J. L. and Reeves, C. Medical Book Illustration: A Short History, Oleander Press, New York 1983, p. 90. Engen, R. K. Dictionary of Victorian Engravers, Print Publishers and Their Works, Chadwyck-Healey Ltd, Cambridge 1979.
Muir, P. H. and Amelung, P. Printing and the Mind of Man, Karl Pressler, Munich 1983.

36. Eagleton, T. The Ideology of the Aesthetic, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford 1990, p. 41.

37. Ibid. p. 37. See Barrell, J. The Political Theory of Painting From Reynolds to Hazlitt, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1986.

38. Wark, R. R. Sir Joshua Reynolds Discourses on Art, published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (London), Ltd, by Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1981, 'Discourse VII', pp. 121-122.

39. Gombrich, E. H. Symbolic Images Studies in the Art of the Renaissance, Phaidon Press Ltd, London 1972, pp. 123-125.

40. Hogarth, W. The Analysis of Beauty, London 1753. For a review of eighteenth century iconography and its meanings see Paulson, R. Breaking and Remaking, Aesthetic Practice in England, 1700-1820, Rutgers, The State University, USA 1989, 'Remaking the Classical Icon', pp. 156-213, regarding Hogarth's images. Burke, J. 'Classical Aspect of Hogarth's Theory of Art', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 6, 1943, pp. 151-153. O'Connell, S. 'An Explanation of Hogarth's 'Analysis of Beauty'', The Burlington Magazine, January 1984, pp. 32-34.

41. Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty, chapter XI, 'Of Proportion'. Smart, A. 'Dramatic Gesture and Expression in the Age of Hogarth and Reynolds', Apollo, 82, August 1965, pp. 90-97.

42. Hogarth's references to statues, antiques and classical ideals can be contextualised with other aestheticians writings see Richardson, J. An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures, in Italy, London 1722, revised 1754.
For further analysis see Haskell, F. and Penny, N. Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1981.
43. Boulton, J. (ed.), Edmund Burke. A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1958, pp. 42-125.
44. Ibid. pp. lxxi-lxxii.
45. Ibid. pp. xxxvi-xl.
46. Winckelmann, J. J. Writings on Art, (ed.), D. Irwin, Phaidon Press Ltd, London 1972. See Murdoch, I. The Fire and the Sun, Why Plato Banished the Arts, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1977.
47. MSS. H46 (15) Hunter Lecture, University of Glasgow.
48. Reynolds, Discourse III, p. 45

49. Reynolds, Discourse III, p. 45.
50. Reynolds, Discourse VII, p. 134. Hipple, W. J. The Beautiful, The Sublime, And The Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory, Illinois University Press, Illinois 1957, pp. 138-148.
51. Reynolds, Discourse XI, pp. 195-196. Irwin, (ed.), Winckelmann's Writings on Art, pp. 30-31, the elder Jonathan Richardson had stated in his Theory of Painting, that a history painter "must be thoroughly informed of all things relating to it", and must know anatomy, osteology, geometry, perspective, architecture and other sciences, "which the historian or poet has little occasion to know".
52. Reynolds, Discourse XV, p. 270.
53. Reynolds, Discourse VIII, p. 164.
54. Reynolds, Discourse II, p. 30, here Reynolds urges the students to look beyond mere copying and see the concepts behind the works of past masters: "Instead of copying the touches of theose great masters, copy only their conceptions. Instead of treading in their footsteps, endeavour only to keep the same road".

55. Reynolds, Discourse II, p. 29.

56. Barrell, J. The Political Theory of Painting From Reynolds To Hazlitt, pp. 146-147.

57. Reynolds Discourse VII, pp. 117-118.

58. MSS. H46 (8), Hunter Lecture, University of Glasgow.

59. The emergence of women, biology and gender during the latter half of the eighteenth-century is increasingly being put into its cultural context by historians such as Ludmilla Jordanova, Thomas Laqueur, Londa Schiebinger and Roy Porter; see Jordanova, L. Sexual Visions Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin 1989. Laqueur, T. Making Sex. Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud, Harvard University Press, London 1990. McCormack, C. P. and Strathern, M. (eds), Nature, Culture and Gender, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1980.

60. Vitruvius' doctrines of proportion first appeared in Francesco di Giorgio's Architecture in the Laurenziana, which was owned and annotated by Leonardo. For a translation of this see Vitruvius On Architecture,

trans. F. Grainger, (eds), T. Page, E. Capps and W. Rouse, Heinemann Ltd, London 1931, 2 vols, pp. 158-160, vol. I, 'Book III, Chapter I, The Planning of

Temples'. On bodily proportions Vitruvius writes: Proportion consists in taking a fixed module, in each case, both for the parts of a building and for the whole, by which the method of symmetry is put into practice. For without symmetry and proportion no temple can have a regular plan; that is, it must have an exact proportion worked out after the fashion of the members of a finely-shaped human body. For Nature has so planned the human body that the face from the chin to the top of the forehead and the roots of the hair is a tenth part; also the palm of the hand from the wrist to the top of the middle finger is as much; the head from the chin to the crown, an eighth part; from the top of the breast with the bottom of the neck to the roots of the hair, a sixth part; from the middle of the breast to the crown, a fourth part; a third part of the height of the face is from the bottom of the chin to the bottom of the nostrils; the nose from the bottom of the nostrils to the line between the brows, as much; from that line to the roots of the hair, the forehead is given as the third part. The foot is a sixth of the height of the body; the cubit a quarter, the breast also a quarter. The other limbs also have their own proportionate measurements.

Clark, K. The Nude: A Study of Ideal Art, Penguin Books Ltd, Middlesex 1980, pp. 12-13. Leonardo drew his version of the 'Vitruvian Man' in 1492. After 1507 Albrecht Durer abandoned the idea of imposing a geometrical scheme on the body and set about deducing ideal measurements from nature, though later Michelangelo disagreed with Durer's ideas of proportion. For a comprehensive account of Alberti's treatise on painting see Clark, K. Leon Battista Alberti on Painting [Annual Italian Lecture at the

British Academy, London], Oxford University Press 1944. Alberti wrote his Della Pittura in 1435, where he deals with perspective and proportion: book I geometry of proportion, book II describes good painting in three sections, book III discusses the education and life-style of the artist. Pacioli, Fra Luca. De Divina Proportione, Venice 1509.

61. Albinus, B. S. Table of the Skeleton and Muscles of the Human Body, John and Paul Knapton, London 1754, 'Account of the Work', p. 277. Choulant, L. History of and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration, trans. Mortimer Frank, Schuman's, New York and London 1949, pp. 276-280.
62. Clark, The Nude, p. 344. Suleiman, S. R. The Female Body in Western Culture. Contemporary Perspectives, Harvard University Press, London 1990. Pointon, M. Naked Authority. Body in Western Painting, 1830-1908, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990.
63. Flam, J. D. Matisse On Art, Phaidon, Oxford 1978, pp. 20-60. 'Henri Matisse. Notes of a Painter', in Weitz, (ed.), Problems in Aesthetics, pp. 344-351.
64. Walters, M. The Male Nude: A New Perspective, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1979,

p. 102. For an alternative re-interpretation of the male nude see Potts, A. 'The Violence of the Ideal Male Nude', unpublished paper, delivered at the Art Historians and Birkbeck College conference The Body in Representation, 21-22nd September 1990. Potts centres his argument around the re-interpretation of Winckelmann's idealised classical male statue which Potts argues has traits of femininity making the ideal male nude an ambiguous model and not so overtly masculine, it is the ambivalence that Potts addresses. See also Paulson, Breaking and Remaking, pp. 168-192, for further discussion on 'feminizing the hero' in the eighteenth-century. Young, W. Eros Denied, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1965.

65. Reynolds, Discourse III, p. 48.
66. Reynolds, Discourse III, p. 48.
67. Kunzle, D. 'The Corset As Erotic Alchemy: From Rococo Galanterie to Montaut's Physiologies', in Hess, T. and Nochlin, L. (eds), Woman As Sex Object Studies in Erotic Art, 1730-1970, Penguin Books Ltd, London 1973, pp. 77-125. Lucie-Smith, E. The Body - Images of the Nude, Thames and Hudson, London 1981.

68. Reynolds, Discourse VII, p. 137. See also MS. T.761.5, 'Voluntary Distortions - Tight Lacing', Extract, no. 93, from an unknown periodical, The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine archives, London.
69. Kunzle, 'The Corset As Erotic Alchemy', pp. 77-125.
70. For discussions on the role of man-midwives and their female counterparts, especially relating to sexual and professional practices see Porter, R. 'Mixed Feelings: the Enlightenment and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain', Boucé, P-G. (ed.), Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1982, pp. 1-21. Porter, R. 'Female Quacks in the Consumer Society', History of Nursing Society Journal, vol. 3, no. 1, 1990, pp. 1-25. Donnison, J. Midwives and Medical Men, A History of the Struggle for the Control of Childbirth, Historical Publications, London 1985. especially Chapter Two concerning the decline of the female as midwife. Idem. Midwives and Medical Men: A History of Inter-Professional Rivalries and Women's Rights, Heinemann Educational Press, London 1977. Erickson, R. A. 'The Books of Generation', in Boucé, P-G. (ed.), Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Manchester University

Press, Manchester 1982, pp. 82-94.

'Mrs. Jane Sharpe's Advice to Midwives', Medical History, vol. III, 1958, pp. 153-154.

Porter, R. 'A Touch of Danger: The Man-Midwife as Sexual Predator', in Rousseau, G. S. and Porter, R. (eds), Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1987, pp. 206-232.

71. Kunzle, 'The Corset As Erotic Alchemy', pp. 77-125.
72. Outram, D. The Body and The French Revolution, Sex, Class and Political Culture, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1989, p. 125. Bryson, N. Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Regime, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983. Hunt, L. Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution, University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1984.
73. Berger, J. Ways of Seeing, Penguin Books Ltd, London 1981, p. 46.
74. Outram, The Body and The French Revolution, p. 125.
75. Ortner, S. B. and Whitehead, H. (eds), Sexual Meanings. The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality,

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and London 1981, pp. 1-27. For further discussions on female gender and sexuality see Jeffreys, S. (ed.), The Sexuality Debates, Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York 1987.

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Kofman, S. The Enigma of Woman, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London 1985.

For a historical perspective of women's sexuality see Cameron, A. and Kuhrt, A. (eds), Images of Women in Antiquity, Croom Helm, London 1983.

Pomeroy, S. B. Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves. Women in Classical Antiquity, Schocken Books, New York 1975.

76. Schiebinger, L. The Mind Has No Sex, Women in the Origins of Modern Science, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1989.
- Schiebinger, L. 'Skeletons in the Closet: The First Illustrations of the Female Skeleton in Eighteenth-Century Anatomy', in Gallagher, C. and Laqueur, T. (eds), The Making of the Modern Body. Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1987, pp. 42-82. For alternative female skeleton dates see Laqueur, T. 'Orgasm, Generation, and the Politics of Reproductive Biology', pp. 20-39, 9ff.

77. Schiebinger, The Mind Has No Sex, p. 190.
 Soemmerring, S. T. Tabula Sceleti Feminini Iuncta Descriptione, Varrentrapp and Wenner, Frankfurt 1797,
 Soemmerring also shows drawings of deformed bodies after the wearing of stays. Idem. Icones Organi Auditus Humani, Varrentrapp and Wenner, Frankfurt 1806.
78. Samuel Thomas von Soemmerring (1755-1830), received his doctor's degree from Gottingen and made especially close friendship with Peter Camper and William Hunter. Choulant, History and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration, p. 301.
79. Browne, A. The Eighteenth Century Feminist Mind, The Harvester Press, London 1987.
 Some believed that the tightness helped pregnancy whilst others' believed them to deform:
 Stays helped an erect posture, and could disguise minor deformities. They also carried symbolic meaning about the virtues of a woman who wore them. They signified a woman's chastity and correctness ... They also carried contradictory meanings about her capacity to be a mother. The narrow waist and flat stomach produced by stays were incompatible with pregnancy, and aroused fears that unborn children could be harmed by a mother's tightness, but tightness also suggested the power to carry a baby to full term.
- Jones, V. Women in the Eighteenth-Century. Constructions of Femininity, Routledge, London and New York 1990.
- Lowndes, J. Eve's Secrets. A New Theory of Female

Sexuality, Random House, New York 1987. Porter, R. 'Libertinism and Promiscuity', in Miller, J. (ed.), The Don Giovanni Book. Myths of Seduction and Betrayal, Faber and Faber, London 1990, pp. 1-19, for further discussion regarding eighteenth century attitudes toward sexual freedom and behaviour.

80. Jombert, C. A. Méthode Pour Apprendre Le Dessin, Paris 1784. Joseph Nollekens's also executed a number of similar mathematical and artistic drawings of the Medici 'measured antique', 1770.
81. MSS. Perceval L51, 'Special Collections', Fitzwilliam Museum, letter dated 25th December 1749 from Peter Camper to William Hunter, the letter also includes remarks on wax injections and the Albinus tables.
82. Contemporary aestheticians differentiate between form, subject and content. For example, a landscape need not necessarily only refer to the view it portrays (subject) but also to political or cultural issues (content) this depends on the way it is painted regarding colour, style and gesture: "Content and form, although distinguishable, are inseparable. Unity of content and form in the aesthetic experience is close".

83. Panofsky, E. Meaning in the Visual Arts, Penguin Ltd, London 1970. Paulson, R. Emblem and Expression - Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century, Thames and Hudson, London 1975.
84. Rader, M. and Jessup, B. Art and Human Values, Pentice-Hall Inc, New Jersey 1976, p. 24.
85. Donoghue, D. The Arts Without Mystery, [The Reith Lecture, 1982], British Broadcasting Corporation, London 1983.

For a further discussion concerning the ambiguous and uncertain nature of art see Rosenberg, H. The Anxious Object, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1982.
86. Donoghue, The Arts Without Mystery: "What we need now is something for which there isn't a precise word; form of interpretation which conviction is compatible with the misgiving that should accompany it".
87. See Derrida, J. The Truth In Painting, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1987.
88. Jordanova, 'Gender, Generation and Science: William Hunter's Obstetrical Atlas', in Bynum, and Porter, (eds), pp. 34-36.

89. Ibid.
90. Cohen, R. (ed.), Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aesthetics, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1985.
91. Rader and Jessup, Art and Human Values, p. 50.
92. Kohanski, A. S. An Analytical Interpretation of Martin Buber's I and Thou, Barron's Educational Services, Inc., New York 1975, pp. 50-57.
93. Ibid.
94. Brisbane, J. Anatomy of Painting, T. Cadell, London 1769. MS. SA/34/18 correspondence relating to John Brisbane, Royal Academy of Arts archives.
95. Brisbane, Anatomy of Painting, influence of Albinus can be seen in the figures: "Anatomy, like many other parts of learning, has often been described with too much minuteness, so as to make it tedious and disagreeable, even to the lovers of the art. Great judgment and skill are required to reject the useless.." (preface).

96. Brisbane, Anatomy of Painting, preface.
97. Haydon, B. R. Correspondence and Table-Talk, 2 vols, Chatto and Windus, London 1876, vol. I, p. 19.
98. Albinus, B. S. Tables of Anatomy, passim.
99. Ibid.
100. Haydon, Correspondence and Table-Talk, vol. I, p. 18.
101. The Annals of the Fine Arts, April, 4, 1819, p. 155.
For the same month The Annals stated that Leber's Praelectiones Anatomicae was "one of the best guides to the tables of Albinus in existence".
102. The Annals of the Fine Arts, April, 1819, p. 153.
103. Knox, R. A Manual of Artistic Anatomy, H. Renshaw, London 1852, pp. 202-203. For a comprehensive account of Scottish anatomical education see Struthers, J. Historical Sketch of the Edinburgh Anatomical School, MacLachlan and Stewart, Edinburgh 1867.
104. The Annals of the Fine Arts, ii, 1816, pp. 399-402.

105. Simpson, G. The Anatomy of the Bones, and Muscles,
2 vols, printed for the author, London 1825,
vol. II, plates V, VIII and XIV.
106. Ibid, vol. II, plate XIV.
107. Transactions of the Society of Arts, vol. 40, 1822,
p. 38.
108. Simpson mentions at the beginning of his book
that he gives art-anatomy lectures to medical men
and artists. Choulant, History and Bibliography,
pp. 340-343.
109. Flaxman, J. Anatomical Studies of the Bones and Muscles,
for the Use of Artists, from Drawings by the Late
John Flaxman, engraved by Henry Landseer, M. A. Nattali,
London 1833, preface.
110. Ibid. preface. Plate I shows 3 skeletons from different
sides; Plate II shows three male figures from different
views; Plates 19, 20 and 21 show skeletal drawings
emphasizing bones in arms and legs; Plates 17 and 18
depicts buttocks, thighs and legs; Plates 14, 15 and 16
show lower part of legs and feet; Plate 12 and 13
reveals full length drawings of arm and torso; plates
7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 depicts arms and shoulders; plate

6 shows two heads revealing muscular structure.
 Further anatomical drawings by Flaxman are housed at
 the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Flaxman, J.
Lectures On Sculpture, New Edition, George Bell,
 London 1884.

111. Lelli, E. Anatomia Esterna del Corpo Umano per Uso de'Pittori, for the author, Bologna 1770.
112. Jenty, C. N. The Demonstration of a Pregnant Uterus of a Woman at Her Full Time, for the author, 1758.
 Russell, British Anatomy, a Bibliography,
 pp. 142-143, two of the plates are drawn by Rymsdyk and engraved by Edward Fisher which are dated 1756, of the artists Jenty writes: "I found none imitated Nature better than Mr van Riemsdyk [who] is well known to be the ablest Person we have in London ... his Performances are looked upon the best that have ever been done, of the kind, in Crayons; as is universally acknowledged by all who have seen them".
113. D'Agoty, J. F. G. Myologie Complétte en Couleur et Grandeur Naturelle, Composée de L'Essai et de la Suite de l'Essai d'Anatomie, en Tableaux Imprimés, Gautier, Paris 1746-48.

114. Jakob Christoph Le Blon (1670-1741), whilst working as a miniature painter in Amsterdam is known in 1770 to have made public his attempts at coloured mezzotints. He used in this process three different impressions (blue, yellow and red) for one picture and was thus able to produce the different colour values without black. During his stay in London Le Blon employed two brothers, Jan and Jacob Ladmiral as apprentices. Jan Ladmiral published Le Blon's inventions as his own and later went on to use this process in the making of coloured anatomical representations for the famous anatomist Bernard Siegfried Albinus in Leyden. Jacques Fabien Gautier born in Marseilles (c. 1717-1786), also assisted Le Blon, and after Le Blon's death D'Agoty obtained took over Le Blon's business and method of printing. D'Agoty claimed, like Ladmiral, to be the inventor of the coloured copper print. For printing methods and their users see Muir, P. H. and Amelung, P. Printing and the Mind of Man, Karl Pressler, Munich 1983. Dyson, A. Thomas Ross and Son, Fine Art Printers: The Nineteenth Century Heritage, Thomas Ross and Son, London 1983.
115. I am grateful to William Schupbach at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine for allowing me to study the D'Agoty painted panels; see also The Lancet, February 21st, 1914, p. 557: this is a one-

page description of the history of the panels leading eventually to the Wellcome. One painting has written on it "pour Monsieur De Roux. Chirgion Accoucha" next to which is "chez-Librarian, A. Dijon".

116. D'Agoty, J. F. G. Anatomie De La Tête, en Tableaux Imprimés, Qui Representent Au Naturel Le Cerveau Fous Différentes Coupes, La Distribution Des Vaiffeaux Dans Toutes Les Organes Des Sens, and Une Partie De La Nevrologie; d'Après Les Pieces Diffequees and Preparees, Gautier, Paris 1746-48.
117. Ibid. plate I, 'Explication De Tousles Muscles De La Tête'. I am grateful to Thomas Horrocks the Curator at The College of Physicians of Philadelphia, for allowing me to survey the D'Agoty atlas and for discussions regarding the plates.
118. Wolf, E. (ed.), Legacies of Genius. A Celebration of Philadelphia Libraries, Philadelphia Area Consortium Special Collections Libraries, Philadelphia 1988, pp. 200-202. Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), was a French artist who depicted women as alluring and frivolous, usually portraying them as coquettish and sexual. Karp, D. R. Ars Medica. Art, Medicine, and the Human Condition, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia 1985.

119. Antommarchi, F. Planches Anatomiques du Corps Humain Executées d'Après Les Dimensions Naturelles Accompagnée d'un Texte Explicatif, Barrois, Paris 1826.

I am indebted to Thomas Horrocks at the College of Physicians of Philadelphia for allowing me to examine these anatomical sheets.

120. These human-scale sheets show the front and rear view of the human body, revealing both muscular structure and skeletal anatomy.

121. Stokes, A. Reflections On The Nude, Tavistock Press, London 1967, p. 4.

122. Outram, The Body and the French Revolution, p. 163.

123. Ibid. p. 52.

124. Pateman, C. The Sexual Contract, Polity Press, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford 1988, p. 224.

125. Berger, Ways of Seeing, p. 45.

126. Berger, Ways of Seeing, pp. 83-108.

127. Aries, P. The Hour of Our Death, Allen Lane, Penguin Books Ltd, London 1981, p. 354. Tristram, P.

Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature, Elek, London 1976.

128. Desmond, A. The Politics of Evolution, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1989, p. 153.
129. Carline, R. Draw They Must, Edward Arnold Ltd, London 1968, p. 7. Macdonald, S. The History and Philosophy of Art Education, University of London Press Ltd, London 1970, pp. 67-71.
- 130. Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education, pp. 73-75. In 1837 Mr J B Papworth (1775-1847) headmaster, Mr Lambellette, head of the Morning School, Henry Spratt, modelling and drawing master and James Leigh (1808-1860), were the first teachers in Britain to collect a salary from the Government. The Normal School or Head School of Design, Somerset House, officially opened on 1st June with the daily Morning School from 10.00am until 4.00pm. In August 1837 the Evening School was introduced at Somerset House from 6.30pm to 9.00pm.
131. MSS. 1864 Select Committee Report, Appendix 16, pp. 495-595. These documents are in the Government Papers Room, The British Library.

132. Ibid.
133. Ibid. The regulations of 1843 excluded life drawing in Government Schools and drawing from ornaments took its place. Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education, pp. 81-83. William Dyce (1806-1864), reassessed and remodelled the report on the Schools of Design of which he later became Director and Secretary to the Council. He also held a number of posts throughout his life which included Inspector of Provincial Schools, Professor of Fine Arts at King's College, Master of the Ornament and Design Class in London as well as publishing a variety of articles and books on art, design and education. For manuscript material on Dyce in relation to the Royal Academy see MSS. Anderdon Papers, AND/26/246 and MSS. Jupp Papers, JU/14/157.
134. Dictionary of National Biography, IX, p. 286.
135. Sutton, G. Artist or Artisan? A History of the Teaching of Art and Crafts in English Schools, Pergamon Press Ltd, Oxford 1967, pp. 45-174. Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education, pp. 82-83. Bell. Q. The Schools of Design, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1963, pp. 68-69. Bell argues that there were

strong political and social factors for preventing the new School of Design from becoming Art Schools. A school which allowed a proportion of its students to become painters or sculptors might be accused of wasting public money. Consequently, pupils were discouraged away from high art, the State thereby giving only "half an education", and pupils were unable to rise above their station in life. Bennett, C. A. History of Manual and Industrial Education Up To 1870, The Manual Arts Press, Peoria, Illinois 1926.

136. MSS. 1864 Select Committee Report, evidence 10.
137. MSS. 1864 Select Committee Report, evidence 15, these modifications lay dormant until 1852 as Cole says: "there was a period of suspension before the changes were introduced into the Schools at that time, and nothing was done till January 1852, after the Exhibition of 1851". Heward, C. 'The Department of Science and Art: Examination for the Masses', unpublished paper 1978, pp. 2-4. The Government curriculum originally consisted of five subjects including practical and decorative drawing, physics, chemistry, geology and mineralogy applied to natural history. The examinations certificates, prizes, medals and scholarships which were such important aspects of the Department offered

opportunities of entry to those occupants for which such examinations were appropriate. Competitive examinations and educational qualifications became a legitimate means for occupational and social status, and were increasingly valued as a means of individual social mobility. Kay-Shuttleworth, J. Public Education As Affected By The Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council from 1846-1852, Longman, London 1853.

138. Redgrave, R. On the Necessity and Principles in Teaching Design - Opening Address to the Department of Science and Art 1853, Longman, London 1853, pp. 7-8.

The laws and principles which connect art and taste are not to be communicated only to the students in our schools, but spread widely abroad: and if art is to be encouraged, (art, I mean in its widest sense, as a universal pleasure-giver, a solace and delight, refiner and purifier of mankind, as well as of great commercial value, and a source therefore of national wealth), then to have it justly estimated and sensibly cultivated, the principles which connect it with taste, beauty and truth, should be disseminated through all ranks, and taught to all classes of the people. Such dissemination, then, becomes one of the first duties of the Department of Art.

139. Ibid.

140. Joseph Mallord William Turner felt that a natural rebirth in the arts could only come about by breaking down the dictatorship of taste imposed by amateurs, critics and patrons in the British Institutions. For

information on Turner's life and thoughts on education see Lindsay, J. J. M. W. Turner: A Critical Biography, Granada Publishers, London 1966.

Gage, J. 'Turner's Academic Friendships: C. L. Eastlake', The Burlington Magazine, vol. CX, December 1968, pp. 677-685. For a general account of taste during this period see Steegman, J. Victorian Taste: A Study of the Arts and Architecture from 1830 to 1870, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London 1970.

141. MSS. 1864 Select Committee Report, Appendix 16, pp. 495-595, concerning the Questionnaire sent out to head masters.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid. Appendix 12.
144. Haydon, Correspondence and Table-Talk, vol. I, pp. 446-447. Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education, pp. 65-68.
145. Peters, W. An Appeal Against the Practice of Studying from Nude Human Beings by British Artists, and in Public Schools of Design, Longman, London 1854.

146. Ashwin, C. (ed.), Art Education - Documents and Policies 1768-1975, Society for Research into Higher Education, London 1975, pp. 57-77.

.. Schools of Design eventually became more fine art orientated and when Sir William Rotherstein became Principal of the Royal College of Art in 1935, he implemented a fine art curriculum which was to remain, leading the Hambledon Committee in 1936 to write: "Painting and Sculpture are the backbone of an artistic education ... and the presence of a body of persons studying Fine Art for its own sake and with the intention of becoming painters and sculptors cannot fail to exercise a broadening and educative influence upon the students of design". For a discussion on the naked and clothed figure see Perniola, M. 'Between Clothing and Nudity', in Feher, M. Naddaff, R. and Tazi, N. (eds), Fragments For A History Of The Human Body, part II, Zone, Inc., New York 1989-90, pp. 236-265.

147. The original water-colour sketches by Charles Bell of wounded soldiers are housed at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, although they belong to the Royal Army Medical Museum. The Museum has seventeen drawings by him of the wounded which he treated after the Battle of Waterloo. In 1866, Lady Bell, presented

The Secretary of State for War, for the Army Medical School these drawings executed by her late husband.

148. MSS. H46 (8) and H46 (21), Hunter lecture, University of Glasgow.

149. See Estienne, C. De Dissectione Partium Corporis, Simones de Colinaeum, Paris 1545, passim.
A number of his female figures show genitalia with skin flaps opening to stomach and intestines. This is another way of sectioning and fragmenting the body, by holding the skin back in a certain manner. Charles Estienne also goes under the name of Carolus Stephanus (1504-1564).

150. Clark, The Nude, p. 137.

151. Outram, The Body and the French Revolution, pp.112-119.

152. Ibid. p. 112. See also Berger, K. Géricault and His Work, Hacker Art Books, New York 1978, for the artist's depictions of guillotined heads see plates 51, 52, 53 and 80.

153. Stokes, Reflections On The Nude, pp. 3-37. Feher, M. Naddaff, R. and Tazi, N. (eds), Fragments For A History Of The Human Body, Parts I, II, III, IV and V passim.

154. See 'Charles Bell's Wax Models', Edinburgh Medical Journal, 55, 1948. Some of Bell's waxes can be seen at the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.
Bell, G. Letters of Sir Charles Bell, John Murray, London 1870, p. 73. Sydney Smith on seeing Charles Bell's anatomical models in wax remarked:
"I could not have conceived that anything could be so perfect and beautiful as his wax models. I saw one to-day which was quite the Apollo Belvedere of morbid anatomy".
155. Shearman, J. Mannerism, Penguin Books, London 1967.
Walters, M. The Male Nude: A New Perspective, Harmondsworth, London 1979, pp. 154-155.
Kellett, C. E. Mannerism And Medical Illustration: Lectures on the Iconography of the 'Chirurgia' of Vidus Vidius and the 'De Dissectione' of Estienne and Riviere, University of Durham Publication, Durham 1966.
156. Bidloo, G. Anatomia Humani Corporis, printed for the widow of J. a Someren, Amsterdam circa 1685. The engraved plates are by Gerard de Lairesse.
157. Gilman, S. L. Sexuality, An Illustrated History Representing the Sexual in Medicine and Culture from the Middle Ages to the Age of AIDS, John Wiley and Sons,

- New York 1989, pp. 192-193. See Zwang, G. Le Sexe de La Femme, La Jeune Parque, Paris 1967. Clark, T. J. Image of the People, Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution, Thames and Hudson, London 1973.
- Lindsay, J. Gustave Courbet His Life and Art, Adams and Dart, Jupiter Books, London 1973.
158. Pool, P. and Orienti, S. (eds), The Complete Paintings of Manet, Penguin Classics of World Art, England 1970, p. 11. For a social interpretation of this artist's work see Clark, T. J. The Painting of Modern Life - Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers, Thames and Hudson, London 1985, pp. 79-146.
- Lucie-Smith, E. Eroticism In Western Art, Thames and Hudson, London 1972.
159. See Held, J. S. Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Art Baroque Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, New York 1972. The painting by Paul Delaroche is in the National Gallery, London.
- For further reference to Baroque sexuality and the arts; see Rousset, J. La Littérature à L'Âge Baroque En France, Jose Corti, Paris 1954. Wallace, R. The World of Bernini 1598-1680, Time-Life Books Inc., England 1978, especially Bernini's 'St. Teresa'.
- Lucie-Smith The Body, p. 73, thus writes: "The Baroque painters did not see the nude purely as an emblem

of pleasure; they also used it to convey pain and vulnerability - usually, but not always, in a religious context. Frequently this vulnerability takes on an ambiguously erotic tinge..."

Praz, M. The Romantic Agony, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1985. Spencer, T. Death And Elizabethan Tragedy, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1936.

See also Kappeler, S. The Pornography of Representation, Polity Press, Cambridge, in association with Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1986.

160. Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XII, pp. 1126-1127. For an account of his life see Beveridge, A. J. The Life of John Marshall, Haughton Mifflin, London 1916.
161. Hutchison, S. C. The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986, Robert Royce Limited, London 1986, p. 270.
162. Marshall, J. Anatomy for Artists, Smith, Elder, London 1878, pp. 12-13.
163. Ibid. pp. 4-5.
164. MSS. University College Calendar, session 1871-72, p. 167. For other art-anatomy folios and teachers of anatomy at University College London and the

Slade School of Art; see Thane's revised version of Ellis's Demonstrations of Anatomy whilst at University College London. Ellis, G. V. Illustrations of Dissections, with original colour plates, James Walton, London 1867. For comparable art-anatomy treatise during this period see Sharp, J. B. Elements of Anatomy; Designed For The Use of Students in the Fine Arts, Longman, London 1818. Bean, R. L. Anatomy For The Use of Artists, Henry Renshaw, London 1841. Fripp, A. and Thompson, D. Human Anatomy For Art Students, Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd, London 1941. This art-anatomy treatise was executed by Sir Alfred Fripp, a surgeon, and Ralph Thompson, Senior Demonstrator of Anatomy at Guy's Hospital. The drawings were undertaken by Innes Fripp A.R.C.A. who organised the life class at South London Technical Art School; the publication combined text and 150 illustrations and a series of photographs. Wolff, E. Anatomy For Artists, H. K. Lewis, London 1948, Wolff's figures are truncated, showing male torsos boldly and powerfully drawn, which are more akin to late eighteenth-century figures than other nineteenth-century folios. Wolff taught anatomy at the Slade School of Art and it was in collaboration with Henry Tonks and another member of staff George Charlton that this art-anatomy treatise was produced.

Charlton taught painting and drawing at the Slade, and had spent many hours with Wolff dissecting and drawing specimens for the publication. In the preface to the second edition (1933) Wolff stated that the text had been simplified and a number of new illustrations added, such as poses of the skeleton from Vesalius' Fabrica, together with anatomical figures from Michelangelo.

Bellot, H. H. The University College London, 1826-1926, University College Press, London 1929, Chart II. MSS. University College Calendar, session 1874-75, the fee for the anatomy course was £1 11s. 6d. Thane taught artistic anatomy to Slade students between 1872 and 1919.

MSS. University College Calendar, session 1874-85. The studios were open between 9.30am and 5.00pm (Monday to Friday); and evenings classes were from 7.00pm to 9.30pm. Saturday classes took place between 9.30am and 2.00pm and in the life class for four hours each day from 10.00am to 2.00pm there were two models and in the antique class both male and female students worked from the draped semi-clothed figure.

MSS. University College Calendar, session 1872-73, p. 43, students entering the courses were expected to work everyday from the nude or draped model though the evening students were not allowed to paint, only drawing and modelling from the living figure. Three

evenings a week the nude model was available and the other two evenings from the antique.

165. Bellot, University College London, p. 348.
166. John Marshall's works include A Description of the Human Body, its Structure and Functions, with a folio of drawings, Smith, Elder and Co., London 1862. A Description of the Human Body, 2 vols, Day and Son, London 1862. Idem. A Rule of Proportion for the Human Figure, Folio Only, Smith, Elder, London 1879. A Series of Life-Size Anatomical Drawings, Folio Only, Elder, Smith & Co., London 1860.
167. Bellot, University College London, p. 348.
168. Marshall, Anatomy for Artists, pp. 11-12.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid. p. 10.
171. Ibid. p. 10.
172. Ibid. p. 10.

173. Ibid. pp. 12-13. The skeleton is composed of a larger number of separate bones, which are connected together at the joints or articulations and which form certain 'cavities' for the protection of the viscera and to maintain their position. Also these create levers, for the 'support' and 'movement' of the body and of the limbs.
174. Ibid. p. 12.
175. Bellot, University College London, p. 348. In 1869 John Ruskin delivered the first part of what was later to be published under the heading 'The Queen of Air'. See Ruskin, J. A Joy For Ever, With Two lectures On The Political Economy Of Art delivered at Manchester, July 10th and 13th, 1857, George Allen, Orpington and London 1895.
176. MSS. University College Calendar, session 1872-73, p. 83.
177. Marshall, J. A Rule of Proportion for the Human Figure, Smith, Elder, London 1879. See Stein, P. Medical Engravings of the 19th Century, Universal Books, New York 1974.

178. MSS. 1864 Select Committee Report, Appendix 12, publications supplied for the use of anatomy at the Government Schools.
179. Marshall, J. A Series of Life-Size Diagrams of the Human Body, Smith, Elder and Co, London 1860.
180. Marshall, J. Physiological Diagrams, Smith, Elder and Co., London 1862. Marshall's wife also attended exhibitions at the Royal Academy as an admission card allowing her to attend a private view was issued see MSS. SB/85, The Royal Academy of Arts archives, dated Friday 20th April, 1836.
181. Ladd, H. The Victorian Morality of Art, An Analysis of Ruskin's Esthetic, Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York 1932, p. 99. Peters, R. L. (ed.), Victorians On Literature and Art, Peter Owen Ltd, London 1964.
182. Ladd, The Victorian Morality of Art, pp. 98-99. Harrison, F. The Dark Angel. Aspects of Victorian Sexuality, Sheldon Press, London 1977. Foucault, M. The History of Sexuality, 3 vols, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth 1988, especially 'We 'Other Victorians'', vol. 1, pp. 3-49.

183. Reynolds, Discourse XIII, pp. 231-232. For additional references to art and science; see Camper, P. The Connexion Between The Science and Anatomy and The Arts of Drawing, Painting and Statuary, C. Dilly, London 1794. Flaxman, Lectures On Sculpture, lecture IV 'On Science'.

184. MSS. 1864 Select Committee Report, evidence 553-554, Henry Cole's statement on 'Payment on Results'.

185. Marshall, Anatomy for Artists, p. 11.

186. Ibid. For comparative nineteenth century medical folios see Smith, N. The Descriptive Atlas of Anatomy, Smith, Elder, London 1880. Thomson, A. A Handbook of Anatomy For Art Students, 2nd edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1899. Many of the folios now being produced incorporated within them photographic images of the body; for a wider contextual interpretation of medical images during this period, see Lawrence, C. and Fox, D. M. Photographing Medicine, Greenwood Press, New York 1988.

187. Mascagni, P. Anatomia Per Uso Degli Studiosi di Scultura e Pittura, G. Marenigh a Spese degli Eredi [sic], Florence 1816. Farnese, T. Note Addizionali .. al suo Elogio di Paolo Mascagni

in risposta ai due Scritti Critici del...Francesco
Antommarchi e del Alesandro Moreschi, G. Bernardoni,
Milan 1818. Choulant, History and Bibliography of
Anatomic Illustration, pp. 315-319.

188. Northcote, J. Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds,
printed for Henry Colburn, London 1813, pp. 51-52.

Chapter Five

William Hunter, the Plaister Academy and Three-Dimensional Anatomical Models

Having examined William Hunter's many roles as anatomist, professor of anatomy, patron of the arts and medical lecturer, attention is now given to his embalming, wax injections and cadaver-casting techniques. Hunter's anatomical models were executed after much dissecting of the gravid uterus and investigations on women who died giving birth. Interest in anatomical models flourished during the eighteenth century, and Hunter's models were but one type to be found. This chapter seeks to chart the evolution from the Renaissance écorchés to the elaborately-adorned wax models of two centuries later. In order fully to comprehend the beginnings of this labyrinth of art-anatomy relations, we look back to the Italian Renaissance where artists were taking a greater interest in the representation of the human form.¹ Leonardo and Michelangelo spent long hours dissecting and, according to Condivi, Michelangelo's biographer, pupil and friend, the artist "gave up dissecting corpses because his long handling of them had so affected his stomach that he could neither eat nor drink".² The need was felt by artists and anatomists for some kind of device which would enable them to study the superficial muscles of human anatomy at their leisure, different from the nausea-conducted manner in which they were normally expected to draw

and dissect.³ This need was partly met by the production of what is known as the écorché figure, which can be made from a variety of materials, such as bronze, ivory, wood, wax and plaster, the most popular being wax. Leonardo and Raphael are known to have engaged in anatomical modelling but the artist who brought expression to such rendering of the human form was Michelangelo.⁴

I : The Evolution of the Écorché

The popularity of the écorché, modelled after the Greek 'Borghese Warrior' and 'Borghese Gladiator' and used as teaching aids, was reflected in the large number of artists and anatomists using this method of drawing after statues modelled in wax.⁵ The pliability of wax allows corrections, changes and additions to the design at any time and hence was a medium popular with artists.⁶ Many Renaissance artists applied this method to both small- and large-scale works, and Vasari gives details of wax recipes used by artists.⁷ Leonardo is thought by some to have been the first to produce anatomical models in wax, and a wax brain modelled by him still exists.⁸ Leonardo carried out at least one hundred dissections, using both human and animal carcasses, and Vasari recalls that Michelangelo made small to medium-large sketch models in wax for sculptural and

architectural projects.⁹ Some of the small anatomical figurines by Michelangelo now form part of the Gherardini Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹⁰ A number of écorchés were in an upright attitude holding their own skin, revealing the muscular development underneath.¹¹ Here affinities may be suggested between the écorché, sculpture and painting. Such écorchés can be juxtaposed with Michelangelo's painting of St. Bartholomew in the Sistine Chapel, 'Last Judgment'.¹² This idea of uncovering man's internal workings by shedding the outer skin may be both medical and allegorical: Michelangelo uses this device to portray life/death, mortality/immortality, and symbolise man's 'rebirth'.¹³ Like an écorché, Michelangelo's St. Bartholomew is disrobed - he holds his skin as a sign of inner-self and self-awareness both physically and spiritually.¹⁴ Écorchés were not merely represented as static anatomical models but also as active, energetic figures, not unlike Greek statues showing the human form in motion.¹⁵ During the fifteenth-century Antonio Pollaiuolo seems to have been one of the first artists to dissect, imbuing with energy to his anatomical of male figures.¹⁶ Vasari says of Pollaiuolo, who ran a most "enterprising artistic workshop" in Florence: "He understood the nude in a more modern way than the masters before him. He skinned many human bodies to study the anatomy and was the first who thus investigated the action of the muscles in order to draw them correctly. Antonio engraved on copper a combat of these nude male figures".¹⁷ Some artists favoured drawing

direct from the écorché while others preferred the traditional method of drawing from the cadaver.¹⁸ One obvious difference between a drawing from a dissection and a model from a dissection is on the angle of vision. A dissection takes place on a flat or raised trestle, and a modelled corpse-cum-dissection is hung by a pulley loosely-swinging and free-standing, making it adaptable for lecture halls or anatomy theatres.¹⁹ In many of the early wood-block prints showing anatomy theatres a corpse is normally hanging by its neck and wrist, and more often than not put in the attitude of command or action.²⁰ This is evident in Cort's engraving 'The Academy' (1578) where the dissected figure is hung in this manner.²¹ Tintoretto is also known to have used wax figures, and is described by André Malraux as "modelling wax figurines and hanging them from the ceiling of his studio so as to guide the drawings".²² Many écorchés were set in various positions such as action, energy, pathos and dancing, each attitude using different bodily tensions. A number of 'active' models survive expressing 'dancing' and 'tormented' écorchés, and have been attributed to Baccio Bandinelli's studio.²³ Bandinelli's 'tormented' model is not dissimilar in character and expression to Michelangelo's figure of a 'Dying Captive' from the Sistine Chapel.²⁴ Écorchés were made by and for artists and anatomists, though in some instances the medical profession had their portraits painted with a figurine in view, as in the painting of German anatomist Volcher Coiter, which displays his table-top écorché.²⁵

The Italian sculptor, Giovanni da Bologna, known as Giambologna (1524-1608), was interested in observing and recording human anatomy by means of the écorché, and a number of the figurines now in the Jagiellonian Museum, Kracow, have been attributed to Giambologna's favourite student Pietro Francavilla.²⁶ During this period flayed écorchés showing only superficial muscles were normal procedure, and further intestinal models were not produced until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, it is worth mentioning a lesser-known sixteenth-century artist who nevertheless produced some fine écorchés. Lodovico Cardi (1559-1613), referred to as Cigoli, was a pupil of Alessandro Allori (1535-1607), who encouraged his student to dissect and keep "pickled human extremities in jars in his studio".²⁷ It was during his apprenticeship that Cigoli met anatomist Theodore Mayern, who dissected cadavers at S. Maria Nuova and offered Cigoli the same opportunity.²⁸ It was on such an occasion that Cigoli made his anatomy in wax, executed with "such diligence and delicacy" that:

In this work there were shown the linkage of bones, nerves and ligaments, also how the muscles have their origin, how they stretch directly, obliquely, or transversely, to what extent they are more or less fleshy, how finally changing into the tendons they interweave and disappear to attach to the bones, how in various postures their function is to move one member more than another, for this reason some swelling and some sagging, changing their form and location; of the greatest usefulness to a painter....²⁹

Like so many Renaissance écorchés Cigoli's were not merely anatomical models but small bozzetti created by artists, imbued with expression and craftsmanship. Benvenuto Cellini is also known to have sculpted in wax, and whilst in Paris befriended the anatomist Guido Guidi.³⁰ Cellini's Autobiography praises this "excellent physician and doctor", moreover: "Long before this I should have recorded my having won the friendship of the most talented, lovable, and companionable gentleman I have ever known in the world".³¹ Cellini recounts that he and Guido "enjoyed several years together" in Paris, but does not mention any art-anatomy collaborations that may have taken place.³² No doubt Cellini took the opportunity to work under the medical guidance of his friend for he says they "would often congratulate" themselves on the fact that they were "cultivating" the talents of their "respective professions".³³

The design and execution of these écorché figures remain almost the same throughout the seventeenth century, and it was not until a century later that new methods of artistry, stylisation, and technique brought about anatomical models that would look completely different to earlier Renaissance écorchés. The new anatomical models did not rival the flayed écorchés, but allowed both artists and anatomists to create a different type of art-anatomy phenomenon. The following section develops this evolutionary process which can still be seen operating at the Royal Academy Schools in the eighteenth century. Anatomical statues and casts were used as

intermediate stages between the écorchés and the sexually adorned artificial figures used as teaching aids.

II : London's Wax Museums and the Classical Statues at the Royal Academy

The écorché remained almost the same until the latter half of the seventeenth century when medical men began experimenting with injecting coloured wax into cadavers, increasing the use of wax anatomies showing pathological symptoms. Men such as Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731) and Govard Bidloo, were responsible for making anatomies in the round.³⁴ In size and impact, Bidloo's Medicinae Doctoris et Chirurgi, Anatomia Humani Corporis, Centum et Quinque Tabulis per Artificiosis (1685), is not unlike William Hunter's anatomical treatise regarding its depictions of male and female bodies showing well-proportioned figures (see Chapter Four for an engraving of a female cadaver).³⁵ Some plates in the aforementioned publication show dislocated and dissected heads fragmenting nose, mouth and hair whilst others portray impressive frontal figures reclining (Plate 21), revealing intestinal organs with drapery wrapped around truncated thighs and head not unlike the later anatomical models in wax. More than any other illustrated art-medico folios published at this

time, Bidloo's figures are reminiscent of wax models because of the depth and volume created by the graphic drawings suggesting three-dimensional figures; because of this the anatomical figures look 'alive'.³⁶ Exhibited in plate 56 is a "child in the womb" drawn diagonally across the page with fragments of breast and pubic hair.³⁷ William Cowper adapted Bidloo's folio and published it under his own name; Tables I and II show external muscles, and though "not Drawn by Invention, are Touch'd on after an Original Cast from the Life in Plaster of Paris": Table II displays a system of arteries "dissected from a Foetus, with their Several Trunks and Ramifications" which have been injected with wax.³⁸

The eighteenth century continued to have an interest in classical statues and antiquity. Winckelmann, John Mortimer, Gavin Hamilton and others captured such fragments of the past through either incorporating neo-platonic thought in literature or painting neo-classical themes. The antique room at the Royal Academy of Arts had a number of classical statues for students to draw from. Some favoured this method of drawing to that of a living model, not unlike those medical men preferring to draw from the écorché than from the cadaver. The antique school was filled with white plaster casts, ranging from whole bodies to fragments of limbs, torsos, feet, hands and heads.³⁹ Similar to the attitude of the écorché models, some statues exhibit athletic poses such as running, discus-throwing and gladiatorial flexing of muscles, whilst other casts were put into static, crouching or commanding positions

(see overpage). Research by Alex Potts and Ronald Paulson has, in the light of such neo-classical ideologies using the works of Winckelmann, submitted new interpretations of the male ideal as having attributes that are both male and female, leading Potts to interpret this as sexually ambiguous and Paulson to write of 'feminizing the hero'.⁴⁰ The écorché figures already mentioned are not unlike classical statues, the only difference being that superficial muscles were more pronounced showing flayed skin. However some artists went to extremes in treating the living body like a statue; towards the end of the seventeenth century at Andrea Vaccaro's Accademia del Nudo, the painter Francesco de Maria is known to have rubbed the skin of his models so strongly that all the veins and muscles became prominent.⁴¹ This brought Vaccaro and his school under attack from followers of the "smooth skin and gentle style of Raphael plagiarists".⁴² The growing interest in the function and ownership of classical statues had its effect on art-anatomy practices, as medical men became curious in experimenting with three-dimensional anatomies. Diagnostic dolls were already being used in Chinese medicine. These were small, hand-held, ivory mannequins given to the concealed female patient with which she would mark the appointed limb or organ corresponding to her own physical pain.⁴³ In Britain too, ivory was used to render small obstetrical figurines. The female model as can be seen over the page is an eighteenth-century ivory model of a pregnant woman whose origins are in the neo-classical 'Venus de Medici'. Artists and medical men increasingly had a need for

sculptured anatomy primarily for teaching purposes. Plaster of paris was a good medium for taking a mould from a cadaver and wax was pliable for building and manipulating the form of a figure.

Towards the latter half of the eighteenth century London saw the opening of a number of wax museums. They were popular not only with artists and medical men, but the general public were also amused to see the human body portrayed with such naturalism.⁴⁴ These included such as Mrs Wright's and Mrs Mills's (both favourites with Royal Academy students) and, on a larger scale, Rackstrow's and, later, Madame Tussauds.⁴⁵ Many of the private wax museums were owned and managed by women who made the wax models themselves. Mrs Patience Wright advertised public exhibitions of her wax figures made by herself and her sister Rachel in 1771 when she lived in America before coming to London a year later.⁴⁶ The Royal Academy artist John Hoppner married Mrs Wright's daughter Elizabeth and, according to Farington, was married "upwards of twelve years".⁴⁷ Elizabeth Wright and her brother Joseph continued making wax models throughout their lives and it is recounted by Thomas Gainsborough's biographer that the artist was a good friend of their mother, and that one of Gainsborough's favourite amusements "was to make miniature busts of his companions in the evenings, taking wax for the purpose from candles around him".⁴⁸ Another favourite with artists such as Joseph Nollekens was Mrs Salmon's waxworks, once described as "the

Madame Tussaud of the last half of the 18th century".⁴⁹ Her pamphlets stated:

Mrs Salmon's Wax-work - Royal Court of England - the moving waxworks - 140 figures as big as life, all made by Mrs Salmon, who sells all sorts of moulds and glass eyes, and teaches the full art.⁵⁰

Mrs Mills's, "maker of waxworks" could also be seen in the Strand and Charing Cross where she gave the public handbills advertising her exhibits which included:

Oliver Cromwell in his full stature, the muscles, sinews and veins appearing all over his body so naturally that you would take it for life itself did it not want for motion. Made by Mrs. Mills, the greatest artist in Europe.⁵¹

At Mrs Mills's, persons may also "have their Effigies made, or their deceas'd Friends on reasonable Terms".⁵² There were others: artists such as Catherine Andras, who exhibited wax portraits at the Royal Academy between 1799 and 1824;⁵³ Mary Slaughter, a wax modeller, living in Berwick Street, Soho;⁵⁴ and Mrs Sylvester, of Irish origin, who worked in Dublin, Edinburgh and London exhibiting "likenesses in wax, baked or clay plaster-of-paris", whose "celebrated cabinet" could be seen in Hull at Mr Elsteb's coffee-house in Scale Lane, where: "Any Lady or Gentleman who may wish to have a likeness in Wax, will please to apply at the Place of Exhibition".⁵⁵ A French modeller who had been medically trained was Mlle. Biheron who exhibited anatomical subjects having undertaken courses in anatomy from her father, a practising surgeon, whose

"anatomical curiosities" could be found at Villars Street, the Strand:

Madem. Biheron, whose Anatomical Figures have received such deserved encomiums from the Faculty , both in this and other countries, is returned to this Capital with some considerable additions, particularly in accurate imitation of the whole Body, calculated to give an exact idea of the structure of the Human Frame, and to teach that most necessary part of science, the knowledge of ourselves. ⁵⁶

Biheron had made the three-dimensional figures after having attended "the examination of a real corpse" so that she might produce "delicate and accurate imitations in wax".⁵⁷ The beginnings of the Tussaud Collection can be traced back to Paris where Maria Tussaud (née Grosholtz) became a wax modeller making life-size figures, replicas of diseased limbs and anatomies.⁵⁸ Although these were first seen in 1780 in Paris it was not until 1802 that London was exposed to what was later to be known as the 'Bazaar in Baker Street'.⁵⁹ Tussauds eventually employed many wax modellers to make life-size figures which can still be viewed today in London and Blackpool.⁶⁰ The use of wax can also be found in religious settings such as the royal effigies at Westminster Abbey in the eighteenth century which were full length figures, other wax anatomies located in European churches at this time were of limbs and organs. Fragments of human bodies such as these were described by Joseph Farington on his visit to Ostend, 13th August, 1793:

At small Bye Altars there were strung offerings, *
of models in Wax Legs, eyes, ears etc. alluding

to the part affected which the offering convalescent may have had a complaint in. These offerings were of a very small size.⁶¹

Priests were also known to involve themselves in wax modelling, one such example is Luigi Dardani (1723-1787), a priest and wax modeller who assisted Ercole Lelli, who executed anatomical-pathological models.⁶² The Royal Academy's annual exhibition not only showed paintings but increasingly displayed wax figures and bas-relief models. Wax models and casts were used simultaneously in the teaching of art and anatomy and because of this many instructors began making their own three dimensional figures: this practice, thus begun during the Renaissance, could still be seen operating in the nineteenth-century. Medical men and wax modellers such as Charles Bell, M. Auzouz, Joseph Towne and the Academy trained Richard Cockle Lucas continued to make anatomical-pathological models.⁶³ And in 1819 the Annals of the Fine Arts recorded an Italian wax model of a human female and other anatomical models that had "been presented to the anatomical Theatre at Oxford".⁶⁴

III : William Hunter and the Plaister Academy

Students at the academy schools had the choice of drawing from classical statues, the living figure, écorchés, or *
cadavers. In addition to these, William Hunter also provided them with casts taken from female corpses. During Hunter's reign pupils were confronted with choices of live, dead and re-sculptured anatomies. The Instruments and Laws of the Royal Academy (1768) laid down rules for the Plaister Academy, that "no Student shall presume to move the said figures out of the places where they have been set by the Keeper", and, once taken possession of a place, "shall not be removed out of it till the week in which he hath taken it is expired".⁶⁵ Inspectors, usually Academy professors, were given the task of monitoring the standard of casts alongside other works imported (see Appendix I). In this section it will become evident that Hunter's interaction with professors and pupils in the plaister academy benefited all those involved, from the procuring of "cadavers to casting them. Samuel De Wilde was "recommended for the Plaister" as authorised by Council on 9th November 1769, only a few months after entering the school; De Wilde's involvement with Hunter and his anatomical lectures are already referred to elsewhere in the thesis. Another student who was a pupil of Joseph Nollekens was John Deare who entered the Plaister Academy in 1777, three years later won a Gold Medal, and in 1783 won a scholarship to Rome.⁶⁶ Deare had strong

competition during his years in the plaister school, as J. T. Smith describes:

There were in the Academy at the time when Mr Nollekens was Visitor, three young Sculptors, who drew remarkably well, Flaxman, Proctor, and Deare; whose abilities were so much by their fellow-students, that Nollekens gave up his practice of drawing for that of modelling the figure in basso-relievo,⁶⁷ and many of his productions possessed great merit.

Smith goes on to say: "I well recollect my play-fellow, John Deare, the Sculptor, powerfully maintaining that grandeur never depended upon magnitude".⁶⁸ Council resolved on 29th December 1780, that "Mr Deare have leave to Mould his Bas-Relief at Home",⁶⁹ and William Whitley recalls:

Dr. William Hunter's lectures on anatomy were strong features of the instruction at Old Somerset House ... Some of the actual dissection appears to have taken place at Surgeons' Hall. Deare, writing when he was only sixteen, to his father in the country, says he has been to see two men hanged and afterwards witnessed the partial dissection of one of them at Surgeon's Hall.⁷⁰

The muscular development was so good in one man that Hunter ordered Agostino Carlini to take a cast from it, and put it into the attitude of the 'Dying Gladiator' (later named 'Smugglarius'), which can still be found in the Royal Academy.⁷¹ A letter was given to Council on the 27th March 1792 by some of the students in the Plaister Academy; although the minutes fail to disclose details of its contents, a few weeks later on 6th April we read: "The President and Keeper and

Treasurer state that they had privately settled the matter with the Plaister Students".⁷² Three years later however Farington recalls on 31st December, 1795, that plaister students were misbehaving; and yet a year later: "The Plaister Academy is now in a very well regulated State, and the Students behave with suitable decorum. More than 50 Students were drawing one night last week".⁷³ The smooth running of the Plaister Academy, refurbishing of casts, and the acquiring of corpses, was mostly left to the Keeper, George Moser, who had previously been in a similar post at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, where John Hunter often helped taking a cast from a cadaver. Moser was at the Royal Academy the same years as William Hunter, 1768 to 1783, and assisted the anatomist with many mouldings. Moser persuaded Roubilliac the sculptor to present the "anatomical figures, busts, statues, lamps" to the Royal Academy after the demise of the St. Martin's Street School, granting Roubilliac and other fellow sculptors access to them.⁷⁴ George Michael Moser's involvement with Hunter and his cadavers for Royal Academy students can be seen, when Moser signed Hunter's "Bill of Expenses of the Body from Surgeon's Hall".⁷⁵ Council agreed on 25th March, 1769 that there should also be an evening Plaister Academy further serving Hunter's extramural cadaver-casting activities.⁷⁶ Plaister-Academy teachers included John Bacon, Agostino Carlini, Joseph Nollekens, Joseph Wilton, William Tyler and Edward Burch and outside their Royal Academy responsibilities all were practising artists.⁷⁷ This was the generation of sculptors that Hunter worked alongside and often

met socially, for instance on 11th June 1773, when Council resolved to meet at Old Slaughter's Coffee House at 7.00pm "to go with Mr Moser to inspect the Casts, and ... make their Report to the Council".⁷⁸

A number of the casts and écorchés still in existence at the Royal Academy originated from Spang, Hunter and Houdon during the eighteenth-century.⁷⁹ Michael Henry Spang, a Danish-born sculptor, came to England about 1756, and showed anatomical figures at the Society of Artists in 1761. He was also Joseph Nollekens teacher for a while as J. T. Smith recounts: "During Nollekens's juvenile practice, he received a few lessons in drawing from a Sculptor, now but little known, who drew the figure beautifully and with anatomical truth".⁸⁰ Some of the Academy écorchés are also in the style of French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741-1828), who, at the beginning of his artistic career, studied with a certain M. Sue, the assistant at the Department of Descriptive Anatomy in Paris who gave a course of lectures on anatomy for artists.⁸¹ (see over the page). Whilst in Rome, Houdon executed his first écorché figure and, although the Royal Academy models are not signed, there is reason to believe that they are Houdon's, or of his school.⁸² As can be seen from anonymous student drawings (over the page) the students did studied anatomy from the Academy écorchés. A life-size plaster écorché, possibly made by Hunter, lacks however the technical competence found in the Houdon figures (not shown). The Tradesman Register for the Royal Academy lists the moulder and caster in plaister for 1791

as, respectively, Hoskins and Benjamin Grant.⁸³ The skill and craftsmanship needed for casting prompted the Academy to employ known tradesmen to undertake such activities and on the 18th February, 1779, the post of Master and Caster in plaster was given to Antonio Sartini, he having defeated Benjamin Grant.⁸⁴ (see Appendix II for a list of casts at the Royal Academy).

A number of plaster of paris casts were taken from corpses at the Academy requiring Hunter, Carlini, Burch and the students to work together. Edward Burch (1730-1814) was a gem-engraver and wax modeller who entered as a student in 1769, became an associate in 1770, and a full Academician in 1771.⁸⁵ Within the Royal Academy he had a meteoric rise from student to professor, and held the post of Librarian from 1794 to 1812, and is described thus by Sandby:

He studied with great assiduity, sketched all his figures anatomically with extreme care, finished his works with a truth and delicacy which left nothing to be desired, and detailed the muscular parts of every figure so as to express the emotion by which they were set in action.⁸⁶

Burch executed wax models for James Tassie and Joseph Wedgwood; his connexion with Hunter pre-dates the Academy.⁸⁷ Tassie (1735-1799) studied drawing and modelling at The Foulis Academy at Glasgow, executing gem and wax modelling; he was known to both William and John Hunter; he first undertook modelling for them.⁸⁸ From Council minutes, 11th June, 1774, it was agreed that: "Casts, be made from three Statues in the possession of Lord Shelburne, viz. The Meleager, The Gladiator putting on his

Sandels, and the Paris. Leave having been attained from his Lordship".⁸⁹ Council is referring to the Earl of Shelburne (Marquis of Lansdowne), who was Prime Minister in the 1780s, patronised scientific and artistic ventures, and "who was himself a Collector".⁹⁰ Edward Burch executed works for him as well as undertaking anatomical figures for William Hunter.⁹¹ Burch's A Catalogue of One Hundred Proofs of Gems (1795), refers to both Lord Shelburne and the "vast collections of medals and ancient coins; among the collectors of these, my late worthy friend, Dr Hunter".⁹² Edward Burch further states:

It is to this gentleman I principally owe my practice of studying all my figures anatomically, * as may be seen by some specimens produced; I must confess I ever found it the readiest and (certainly) the surest way; for it is by a proper attention to the rising and sinking of the muscles, that a true outline only can be formed, and just expression given to the character of the figure: without a proper knowledge of this, it would only be attempting to raise a superstructure without materials, and with it much may be done. ⁹³

A number of Burch's models are outlined in the Catalogue of Gems, many of which are taken from heroic classical statues or * anatomical figures from cadavers. Fig. LIV describes: "A reposing hercules. The position taken from nature, at the Royal Academy. In this figure is introduced every external muscle which is requisite for a figure six feet high, with the insertion of every muscle".⁹⁴ Regarding such anatomical models Farington also makes reference to fellow sculptor John Bacon: "Bacon in reply to an observation of mine said it had been an affectation in Burch to make His legs & feet small, with a view

to increase the effect of the body of the figure".⁹⁵ There exist two small 9¾" models executed by Burch one in bronze the other in wax; I suggest it is to these that Bacon refers. However, despite Burch's seemingly successful career as a wax modeller, towards the end of his life he is repeatedly described as a "distressed man" in need of large sums of money.⁹⁶ On more than one occasion Council agreed to give money to him, informing George III of "Burchs poverty and want of employment".⁹⁷ A surviving lecture ticket at the Royal Academy once belonging to Burch, dated 1808 has written on it: "What do we know of Burch. I have somewhere a caricature portrait of him".⁹⁸ (see Appendix III for ticket). This is indicative of Burch's character and status in London's art world, for although he was a skilled craftsman in gem and wax modelling, he was not known as a sculptor, and not known to the beau monde. William Hunter's connexion with him shows that it was Burch's ability accurately to mould and cast the human body, rather than his talent to express it artistically, as Burch's own background was as a medallist.

At the Plaister Academy, Hunter surrounded himself with artists interested in anatomical accuracy and technicians skilled enough to help with casting cadavers. One such expert in casting bodies was sculptor Carlini. Little is known of Carlini, R.A., except that between 1760 and his death in 1790 he worked as a sculptor in London.⁹⁹ He was born in Genoa and, having settled in London, became one of the Royal Academy's Founder Members, eventually succeeding Moser as Keeper. Like

Burch, he had connexions with the Shelburne family, and in 1771 executed a heroic monument of the Countess of Shelburne, which is said to have been one of his finest works.¹⁰⁰ Other sculptures included a full-length rendition of quack-doctor Ward who paid Carlini £200 a year to advertise his potions and remedies by placing the statue in a dominant part of his studio for patrons and future-patients to see.¹⁰¹ Like Edward Burch, Carlini was not one of England's great artists and yet secured a life-long appointment at the Royal Academy, assisting Hunter in plaster casting. In 1768 Carlini executed in wax an 'Emblematic Figure representing Maritime Power and Riches', advertising in the press that he could supply plaster of paris reproductions at the cheaper rate of six guineas.¹⁰² Whether Carlini had a workshop/business outside the Royal Academy is not mentioned but from Council minutes, 7th January, 1784, we learn that: "Mr Carlini be indulged three months longer to provide a shop for carrying on his Business - so as to enable him to reside in the Royal Academy".¹⁰³ During this period he was living at no. 14 Carlisle Street, and it would appear that like Hunter, Carlini was an entrepreneur involving himself in various schemes outside the usual constraints of institutional employment. However, John Smith recounts that the "students took those liberties with superiors" especially Carlini, "which would not be noticed now but by expulsion".¹⁰⁴ Students at the Academy often worked from gladiator-posed statues or from Carlini's 'Smugglarius' and in 1811 one such student Josephus John Kendrick was awarded the Silver Isis Medal from the

Society of Arts for a plaster cast of 'A Gladiator', exhibited * two years later at Liverpool.¹⁰⁵ Student drawings such as those over the page can be juxtaposed with art-anatomy folios such as Jean Gilbert Salvage's Anatomie Du Gladiateur Combattant, Applicable Aux Beaux Arts (1812). This elephant-size folio furnishes engraved plates of 'muscle-men' revealing superficial muscles, some depict full-length figures whilst others fragment organs and limbs.¹⁰⁶ A letter from Henry Fuseli to naval officer John Knowles dated 30th September 1819, refers to 'prize figures' which Fuseli decided upon "The Apollo for the Modellers, and the Gladiator for the Designers".¹⁰⁷ The Academy always encouraged the use of casts as when Council agreed to purchase an anatomical figure in the position of the 'Dying Gladiator', which was "offered to the Academy for sale" and bought for thirty-five guineas.¹⁰⁸ Although Joseph Nollekens taught sculpture at the Royal Academy, there is no evidence of any anatomical carvings or cadaver castings by him. His biographer recounts the artist's working day: "For many years, every summer's morn, Mr. Nollekens was up with the rising sun. He began his work by watering his clay, when he modelled till eight o'clock". Another instance recalls that a "lady of high fashion once brought her child to have her beautiful arm moulded": Nollekens accepted the commission, and, apart from a few other minor incidents like these - one which * involved a spine being moulded - there are no other sculptured anatomies by him.¹⁰⁹ In 1770 George Michael Moser paid a bill for "a pair of women's hands" and "a Ram's Head" which John

Flaxman had purchased while an Academy student.¹¹⁰ Flaxman's father kept a shop for plaster casts in Covent Garden; it could well have been here that he purchased the anatomical casts.¹¹¹

Throughout William Hunter's appointment at the Royal Academy no professorship existed within the Plaister Academy. It was not until 18th July, 1809, at a council meeting that Henry Fuseli "moved that a Professor of Sculpture be appointed".¹¹² This was agreed unanimously, and John Flaxman became the first professor of sculpture in 1810, a post which he held until his death in 1826.¹¹³ Like so many of his colleagues, Flaxman had worked outside the formal education system having previously worked for Wedgwood and Tassie, had lived for seven years in Italy and had shown wax models at the Academy's annual exhibition.¹¹⁴ He followed in the Hunter tradition of pursuing anatomical knowledge by means of dissection, recording such drawings in his folio already mentioned, and giving lectures on anatomy to students.¹¹⁵ Flaxman constantly appealed to Council for better anatomic casts and statues for students in the plaister and life classes.¹¹⁶

Having examined the professional structure of members in the Plaister Academy, the wax museums and their appeal, we now turn to the practices within the Plaister Academy, and focus primarily on the sculpture students during Hunter's professorship. Close inspection of Hunter's affiliations with students and staff in the Plaister Academy reveals how and why his clay models were produced. Students who did not assist

Hunter are those under Joseph Nollekens's tuition: they include A. Goblet, J. H. Green and J. Bonomi and likewise those students under John Bacon's guidance such as H. Webber and J. Spiller these can all be identified as such because their artworks were neither anatomical nor wax or plaster.¹¹⁷ Other students frequenting the plaster academy and specialising in figurative modelling in wax and plaster during Hunter's tenure can be identified as Theodor de Bruyn, John Deare, Thomas Eagleton, Humphrey Hopper, Charles Horwell, John Flaxman, Alexander MacKenzie, Samuel E. Oliver, Thomas Proctor, George Parbury, Lewis Pingo, Giuseppe Plura, Peter Rouw, Richard Santler and Matthew Wyatt.¹¹⁸ These students also attended life classes and Hunter's anatomy lectures (see Chapter Two). All the students here mentioned have been identified not only for their work in modelling or casting techniques but because they also attended the Royal Academy, regularly showing works 'in the round' at the Academy's annual exhibition.¹¹⁹ Many other artists can be identified as exhibiting wax and plaster models at the annual show, but they were not students at the Royal Academy. Although this does not conclusively mean that Hunter would not have employed non-Academy people, it is reasonable to suggest that, as he had more contact with Royal Academy artists, he would use them first (see Appendix IV for non-Academy wax modellers). For example, T. R. Poole a sculptor and wax modeller did exhibit three medallion portraits in wax at the Royal Academy's annual exhibition though not an Academy student, giving as one of his addresses "Mr. Hunter's,

Piccadilly".¹²⁰ A large number of models was executed by Poole, and one in particular was recorded as being "modelled from Life" which was "durable in any climate".¹²¹ Similarly, Thomas Proctor (1753-1794), entered the Academy Schools in 1777 where he first specialised in painting. However he later changed medium and turned towards sculpture, and Horace Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann, describes his admiration for the student:

Proctor, ... is marvellous. He has gained the prizes in drawing, painting and sculpture; and now exhibits a model in terra-cotta of 'Ixion' less than life, which is a prodigy of anatomy, with all the freedom of nature.¹²²

John Sheldon's anatomy theatre, and his life-size cast of a horse, have already been mentioned in this thesis; but nothing has been said of his students some of whom consisted of sculptors from the Plaister Academy, including Edward Burch jnr., Henry Burch, Peter F. Chenu, Edward Coffin, John De Vaere, Charles Manning, G. F. Pidgeon, J. Plura jnr., and Peter Turnerelli.¹²³ Like many of his fellow students who undertook employment in the 'trade', John De Vaere is a good example of someone who prospered after his training at the Royal Academy. De Vaere modelled for Wedgwood in 1787, and, while in Rome, assisted John Flaxman until his return to England in 1790. He eventually succeeded fellow-artist Henry Webber working for Wedgwood at Etruria, and in 1795 was employed by Mrs Coade¹²⁴ modelling large statues and groups and in 1810 De Vaere was appointed Professor of Sculpture to the Royal Academy of

Ghent.¹²⁵ Non-Academy students exhibiting figurative models in wax during Sheldon's professorship included W. V. Bouquet, G. Leader, Samuel Percy and James Hay, jnr. James Hay (1772-1810) first studied painting under the guidance of Benjamin West but later turned to sculpture, became a pupil of John Flaxman, and attended John Sheldon's lectures on anatomy, while frequenting Joshua Brooke's private anatomy theatre.¹²⁶ The Monthly

Magazine (1810) mentioned after Hay's death that "he left many drawings of the most remarkable antiquities in Hampshire; and a much greater number of almost the whole zoology of Great Britain, beautifully drawn and coloured from nature".¹²⁷

Sheldon not only continued in the Hunter tradition but also carried out the casting techniques used both by himself and Hunter in injecting wax, moulding from nature and sculpting the body, all of which could be undertaken at the Plaister Academy. The Renaissance use of wax as an adaptable medium for table-top maquettes or larger modelling can be seen in use at the Academy Schools and such art-anatomy practices used wax for its easy manipulation of consistency and colouring. Having investigated the Plaister Academy, its students and teachers, focus is now given to Hunter's anatomical models and their making.

William Hunter and His Plaister of Paris Models

The human body was seen by eighteenth-century artists and medical men as a tool from which to learn. The body whether real, artificial, dead or alive, as a physical being to be scientifically explored and artistically rendered took on many guises. Depictions of the human body as seen 'in the round' evolved through statues, écorchés, anatomical mannequins and eventually life-like anatomical models, all of which nurtured art-anatomy practices. Medical and artistic discourses fed upon the increasing scientific knowledge as well as depending on the availability of such anatomical models for teaching purposes. The Royal Academy minutes, 13th November 1786, record a request by Paul Sandby, on behalf of William Hunter's colleague Dr. White of Manchester, "desiring to be obliged with a Cast from the Anatomy Figure"; permission was granted and he was to "have a Cast out of the Mould".¹²⁸ No reference is made to the actual anatomical figure in question but it could well have been one of Hunter's own models. The art of cadaver-casting was used both by artists and medical men although in most instances the culmination of their talents was necessary. The anatomized body of James Legge, later referred to as the 'Crucified Man'; of which anatomist Joseph Carpue undertook a post-mortem of before taking a cast, was at the request of Benjamin West, Sir Joseph Banks and Richard Cosway.¹²⁹ Carpue afterwards requested permission that he too might use the anatomized cast for his medical students to draw from at his

own private anatomy theatre.¹³⁰ Preparations, embalming, plaster casts, wax modelling, diagrams and skeletons were all used in the teaching of medical students; and although originally seen as merely substituting the lack of cadavers, the wax models eventually became works of art in their own right.

The eighteenth century saw numerous auctions of curious anatomical preparations where a Catalogue accompanying the sale gave information of date, time and auctioneer.¹³¹ Embalming techniques similar to those employed by the early Egyptians were also used by the Hunter brothers and John Sheldon, and men and women throughout England not only believed that artists' paint and canvas could 'immortalize' them but now so, too, could medical men with their embalming methods. For instance, John Hunter embalmed Princess Amelia with "his own hands";¹³² Sheldon's experiment in mummification was "a work of art and science"; and William Hunter at the request of Martin Van Butchell, a former pupil and dentist, embalmed his wife, who was later preserved in a glass cabinet.¹³³ Anatomical models were used for teaching purposes as early as the 1720s with the advent of Mr Sargent's wax-work figures,¹³⁴ Peter MacCulloch¹³⁵ and French anatomist Guillaume Desnoues and his Sicilian partner, Gaetano Giulio Zumbo, who executed some of the first life-like wax figures.¹³⁶ Both Desnoues and Zumbo skilfully crafted anatomical and pathological models, and, in their attempt to manufacture these figures, considerable controversy arose, as both men claimed originality for the wax

techniques.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, the wax models executed by Desnoues and Zumbo gained success when they were first shown in London, and Desnoues produced a syllabus to accompany the "child in the womb" figurines.¹³⁸ Between January and May 1719 the first of Desnoues' models were shown in London, although they were not seen again until seven years later.¹³⁹ Such precursor models as these as well as those made by Dr Frank Nicholls led the way for other medical men, like William Hunter, to produce his own anatomical models during the latter half of the eighteenth-century. Frank Nicholls was Reader of Anatomy at Oxford, and became one of the foremost medics in preparations, injecting and crafting models. Hunter makes references to Nicholls and his injecting techniques in a lecture explaining the solidity, fluidity and flexibility of the consistency most suited to injecting coloured resin into the veins of cadavers: "Dr Nichols used for the Coarse Injection, Resin, two parts, Yellow Wax and one part Turpentine Varnish (which is Oil of Turpentine thickened with Venice Turpentine) and Vermilion".¹⁴⁰ The lecture continues to examine various methods of spirit varnish, colouring, wet and dry preparations, preservation of organs and making natural skeletons which is most suited to summer work where, Hunter advises "you may let the Flesh be eaten away with flies and maggots".¹⁴¹ Joseph Flint South recalls in his memoirs that cadavers injected with wax were sold for five guineas as opposed to the statutory four guineas¹⁴² and during the 1730s London surgeon Mr Abraham Chovet exhibited a figure showing a

woman chained down to a table "suppos'd opened alive; wherein the circulation of the blood is made visible through glass veins and arteries".¹⁴³ Not only was Hunter friend and colleague to Frank Nicholls senior, but so too were a number of Royal Academy artists; and Farington remarks on the social events which brought both Nicholls junior and his father together with members of the art world:

Mr Nichols Senr. invited a small party of us to dine with him on Friday next He, Hoppner & myself walked towards home together ... Mr. Nichols spoke of his Father, who was educated at Oxford, and was at 22 years of age appointed Professor of Anatomy ... He obtained sufficient information to venture to give a Publick Lecture, as well as private lectures, and succeeded, and gained about 150 guineas which He always said was the only money He ever recd. with pleasure...¹⁴⁴

From his early attempts at injecting and embalming, William Hunter progressed to more complicated preparations including three-dimensional models. Methods of wax-sculpting and plaster of Paris mouldings were frequently used by artists enabling them to 'capture' portrait/mask likenesses or for studying the anatomy of man more closely. Artists and medical men alike found discrepancies between the real cadaver and its cast. Some favoured coloured casts to the real thing, whilst others such as Benjamin Robert Haydon oscillated between the two, battling with the pursuit of 'truth' in art and nature, or as Haydon often pondered, "was nature or the antique wrong?":

If I copied what I saw in life, Fuseli said, 'This is too much like life!' If I copied

the marble, Wilkie said, 'That looks as if you had painted from stone'.¹⁴⁵

Haydon, like many of his contemporaries, undertook his own casting of anatomies such as wrists, face, feet, hands and spine and whilst painting Shakespeare Haydon "moulded torsos for the chest of Macbeth" and even "moulded knees for the sleeping grooms".¹⁴⁶ Having executed drawings of his models Haydon would then take a cast from parts or whole anatomies, even to the extent of taking a cast of the wrists from his "old and faithful model, Sammons, (Corporal, 2nd Life Guards)".¹⁴⁷ On meeting "with a black, a native of Boston" Haydon refers to this new model as "a perfect antique figure alive" where upon he immediately drew and cast him: "Pushed to enthusiasm by the beauty of this man's form, I cast him, drew him, and painted him till I had mastered every part. I had all his joints moulded in every stage, from their greatest possible flexion to their greatest possible extension".¹⁴⁸ Like Hunter, Haydon used assistants when taking casts and according to The London Tradesman (1747), weekly wages for wax and plaster tradesmen was between forty shillings and three pounds stating that "it requires neither much Genius, Learning, or Ingenuity and requires only Practice to perfect them in it".¹⁴⁹ Whether the human being is dead or alive he has first to be set in an attitude and plaster of paris poured over the body in order that a mould might be taken. On one occasion Haydon used "seven bushels of plaster" which were mixed and "poured in till

it floated him up to the neck"; under such conditions his living models felt themselves suffocating and dying, hence the use of cadavers had some advantages. William Hunter did not suffer from such problems when taking moulds as he always used cadavers, usually of women.

A painting by Mason Chamberlain, dated 1769, of William Hunter in first year as professor of anatomy at the Royal Academy shows him holding a small table-top écorché. Similar mechanical figures for teaching anatomy, made from ivory, were known to have been used by Banister as early as the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁰ The écorché depicted with Hunter is most likely to have been the red wax muscle-man made by Edward Burch which can now be found in the Hunterian Collection (Glasgow University).¹⁵¹ This is a miniature version by Burch of the full-size model used by Hunter in his lectures and shown in the painting of the life class by Zoffany. William Hunter's research into the gravid uterus led him not only to produce an elaborate folio but also to dabble in cadaver-casting of such female bodies in various pregnancy states. A number of plaster of paris anatomies made by Hunter still exist in the Anatomy Department, University of Glasgow, and although very little information was left by Hunter on how, where and with whom he made these, I suggest that these models were executed at the Plaister Academy with the aid of Royal Academy sculptors and students. A syllabus of Hunter's Anatomical Lectures delivered in 1782 to medical and art students in London was illustrated by "a great number of elegant and curious anatomical

preparations", which lay alongside the anatomical models.

Hunter, not unlike Haydon, constantly discriminated between the real and unreal, the cadaver and the cast, appealing in his lectures to student awareness of such distinctions. Hunter prided himself on his own preparations, discriminating between other three-dimensional figures which he thought "tawdry, unnatural in colour, incorrect in figure, situation, and the like", and those in "natural appearance" seemingly life-like: "But those which are cast in wax, plaster, or lead, from the real subject, and which of late years have been frequently made here, are very correct, and are no insignificant acquisition to modern Anatomy",¹⁵² although he was quick to point out that "none of these artificial means are capable of taking the place of the human body in the proper instruction of the student".¹⁵³ A lecture given by him to the art students examines the relationship between likeness and representation, natural colouring and the painted figure after the life which can be "very lively and very like", and "disagreeable or painful objects":

But why are they so? We have all felt the effect, and we are all able to judge the cause. In the first place they are disagreeable, not because they are too like but because they are not enough. There is always something both in the form, and in the colouring which is unnatural; and this appearance of so great a change in the real object is terrifying.¹⁵⁴

We see in Hunter's lectures, anatomical folios and his figures that he is constantly in search of the natural, creating an art

form that is as near to nature as possible. He seeks to produce in art a mirror-image of nature, capturing her likeness as well as her living spirit. He searches not only for the harmony in nature herself but the harmony between art and nature; art must not hold back (Hunter urged) from imitating nature's form, colour and attitude, for in being reticent the end product is "not enough". This natural state from which Hunter took the plaster cast is described in great detail in a lecture dated 1775 concerning the impregnated or pregnant uterus which can be seen in various sizes "of the parts with their shape and situation" which by means of the cast "are exactly the same as in Nature herself".¹⁵⁵ Hunter goes on to describe the method by which they were made:

They were made in this manner, the Body was first open'd and put into a proper situation, then the Plaister of Paris was thrown over it which made a mould so that the whole of them are exactly Nature herself and almost as good as the fresh subject.¹⁵⁶

Again Hunter goes to great lengths in outlining his theories. His actual practice however is quite different as can be seen from images over the page. His lecture speaks of the cast of the woman being likened to "nature herself", realistically showing the four-month pregnancy condition; yet when we perceive his models they are crudely painted with very little facial or bodily detail. As Hunter was able to re-use the moulds from his casting sessions we can presume that he made a large number and yet only a few have survived. Despite his attempts at harmonizing art and nature, Hunter's models look

very naive, amateur and unreal compared with some of the sophisticated wax models on display during the eighteenth century, ironically for he condemns other anatomical figurines for their "tawdry, unnatural colour".¹⁵⁷ A number of the plaster casts can be identified as relating to Hunter's engravings and text in his Gravid Uterus folio. As pregnant female cadavers were more difficult to locate than the average corpse, Hunter had to utilise the bodies and gravid uteruses that he obtained where and when he could: from the folio, plates I, IV and VI relate to models I, IV and VI. Other casts cannot be identified with texts taken from the Gravid Uterus (see footnote 158 for specific breakdown). Unlike his folio, where credit is given to artists and engravers who helped him produce it, Hunter does not mention sculptors or tradesmen assisting him in cadaver-casting. The only reference to the casts is made in his Midwifery lectures, where Hunter remarks on their help as teaching aids: "We have a good many of them to help us on; they are most useful, especially where it is difficult to get a subject of this kind to explain upon in a course of lectures".¹⁵⁹ Female anatomies and fetuses were difficult to come by as can be seen in the Diary of a Resurrectionist (already referred to in Chapter One), for on very few occasions was a fetus for sale¹⁶⁰ and Hunter further recounts: "We cannot get women and open them - one at two days and another at six days after they were pregnant to examine".¹⁶¹ Hunter felt that although "anatomy has at least, kept pace in improvement with other branches of natural

knowledge", research and understanding of the pregnant womb *
 "had not been treated by anatomists with proportionable
 success".¹⁶² His life-long devotion to dissection,
 preparations, injections, embalming and casting the female form
 sought to right this wrong as he saw it. The drawing of the
 larger dissections had to be made within a few days of
 obtaining the subjects, for Hunter did "not allow the artist to
 paint from memory or imagination, but only from immediate
 observation"; and so it was with the casting sessions of
 cadavers as well as wet and dry preparations of the gravid
 uterus. Hunter preferred to work on a fresh subject so that a
 more natural appearance may be captured either through
 preservation techniques or casting methods. Similar to the
 fragmentary and truncated images in the Gravid Uterus of female
 torsos and generative organs, the plaster casts are depicted in
 the same manner and because of this are not unlike the earlier
 anatomical drawings of Andreas Vesalius (see over the page).
 William Hunter's models 'in the round' were perceived as a
 whole with no secret compartments or layering, unlike other wax
 models, usually Italian, where the figure was made up of
 removable parts.

This chapter has already referred to a number of wax
 museums operating in the metropolis; some venues exhibited
 everything and anything executed in wax whilst others, like Dr.
 Khan's Anatomical Museum in Piccadilly, specialised in
 anatomical and pathological models with lectures for gentlemen
 by Dr. Sexton and private open-days for ladies (men not

admitted) with lectures given by Mrs Sexton.¹⁶³ A major rival of Mrs Salmon's wax museum was run by Benjamin Rackstrow whose Museum of Anatomy and Curiosities was located at 197 Fleet Street. Rackstrow's exhibitions were aimed at medical men, artists, scientists and the general public - basically anyone curious enough to explore the self-instructional anatomical displays. Rackstrow's was one of the most renowned anatomical museums in the latter half of the eighteenth century, exhibiting models by Guillaume Desnoues and ivory carver Lacroix.¹⁶⁴ William Hunter may also have exhibited his plaster figures here. An entry in Rackstrow's 1782 Catalogue consisting of 'Anatomical Figures, and real Preparations, also Figures resembling Life' reads thus:

The following described Figures are coloured to Nature, and moulded from Women, who have died undelivered ... shewing various positions of the child in the womb, at nine months, and other periods of pregnancy.¹⁶⁵

Other entries also correspond with Hunter's casts of women who died whilst pregnant (see footnote 166 for details). In order for Hunter to have performed such life-size mouldings he would certainly have needed assistants and access to studio space. The Plaister Academy was an ideal location for Hunter to transfer cadavers from his own private anatomy theatre in nearby Windmill Street; here he was also surrounded by skilled tradesmen and artists familiar with casting techniques. The Plaister Academy also provided the anatomist with the correct tools and equipment to carry out such castings, for, as

previously shown, both Burch and Carlini under Hunter's guidance made casts of cadavers. In the context of other European anatomical models, Hunter's appear crude and unnatural; they are obviously artificial and make no attempt to be works of art. Bearing this in mind, I suggest that Hunter wanted the models to look this way. He had every opportunity to produce natural-looking and well-designed figures but he chose not to. Having gone to such lengths in his lectures to describe his passion for naturalistic models he produced completely artificial obstetrical anatomies that were clumsy to teach from. The following section examines other anatomical models executed at the same time as Hunter's which by comparisons reveal the different qualities of wax and plaster of paris, moreover the difference between casting the body in plaster and sculpting it with wax becomes an important decision for the 'look' of the figures.

In Hunter's determination to capture the body's natural state he overlooked the idea of sculpture, whereby a female form could be re-created away from the real cadaver. As Hunter believed that artists had to draw direct from the dissection and not from memory or imagination, he also believed that a three-dimensional model was most natural when moulded. As will become evident when we compare Hunter's plaster casts to other wax models he was wrong to believe that casting the body was the only true method of reconstructing nature. Many of the Italian waxes are not only well-designed but are naturally coloured unlike Hunter's brightly painted casts. Concerning

three-dimensional figures Hunter appears blinkered in his perception of art and nature, and consequently his engravings and plaster casts become distorted constructs of nature itself. Such stylisation and methods of representation are but two ways of portraying natural phenomenon and yet for Hunter they became absolute, dismissing all others. The focus and scrutiny that Hunter gave to his female corpses and their artistic/artificial counterparts appears to have narrowed his vision to other more "favourable and more accurate means of representation.

IV : The Elaborately Adorned Wax Figures of the Eighteenth Century

With the increasing number of teaching hospitals and art academies during the eighteenth century, there was a growing demand for teaching aids. This demand created a new market for * commissioned anatomical models. The patron and patronage system that prevailed during the Italian Renaissance whereby wealthy individuals, usually men, would commission an artist to paint an erotic composition of a female nude could now be found operating in the art-anatomy world. For private or public

consumption, medical men and their institutes commissioned artists to make anatomies in wax, usually delicately painted and far removed from the crude plaster of paris figures modelled by Hunter. These sculpted figures, normally life-size, were primarily used for teaching purposes and because of this were made in such a way that they came apart, revealing intestinal workings and the physiological structure of the pregnant woman in all her advanced condition. Although London and Paris produced a number of these wax models, the main centres for such elaborate mannequins were Florence and Bologna. Many of the figurines made in Florence were exported and sent to the medical men who had commissioned them, hence a number of Italian models can now be found in London and Vienna. The consistency of wax with its transparent or opaque qualities, easy colouring and its pliable texture, made it an ideal medium for such art-anatomy practices. Sculpting the body's interior as well as exterior frame was made easier by the fluidity of the medium.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century artists and wax modellers working at Florence and Bologna courted a good reputation with the rest of Europe and a certain amount of competition between these two centres ensued. Many of the figurines at Florence were executed by Clemente Susini and his assistants in the workshop originally set-up by Felice Fontana.¹⁶⁷ Fontana (1730-1805), abbot and leading figure in all branches of natural sciences, was appointed director of the Museum and charged with its organisation when he was

transferred from the University of Pisa to the Studio of Physics in the Palazzo Pitti.¹⁶⁸ On the 22nd February 1775, the Florentine museum was opened, the core of the collection estimated at 1,500 anatomical models in wax, and Fontana had already built a special workshop in the museum where the wax modellers, artists and anatomists could work together.¹⁶⁹ The School of Anatomy and wax modelling workshop were established about 1750, and were already in progress when they amalgamated with the Royal and Imperial Museum of Physics and Natural History in 1775, which is now known as La Specola (because of its observatory).¹⁷⁰ Under Fontana's guidance the workshop flourished and some of the first to work for him included Giuseppe Ferrini the chief modeller, Clemente Susini assistant modeller, Antonio Matteucci dissector and modeller and Claudio Valvani a painter who executed a number of drawings, charts and paintings.¹⁷¹ From its foundation La Specola was primarily a place of learning and the wax models were used as teaching tools. Every anatomical model was accompanied by a water-colour sketch annotated with reference numbers indicating the various parts such as muscles, nerves and joints.¹⁷² Like the Royal Academy and the private anatomy theatres in London, the Florentine workshops brought artists and anatomists together, each giving support and advice where needed. Within a few years La Specola became a thriving place for art-anatomy practice especially under Susini and his talent for artistic draughtsmanship. Clemente Susini (1754-1814) not only became one of its chief modellers but he was also a teacher of

sculpture in the Academy of Fine Arts.¹⁷³ At an early age he turned his attention to the study of fine art and began experimenting with bronze sculpture, glass painting and copper engraving. By the age of 19, whilst working in the studio of a Florentine artist, he took up his appointment at the museum and remained there for forty years until his death.¹⁷⁴ During his apprenticeship he received his first lessons in anatomy and dissecting from Fontana, and assisted Ferrini in modelling, although by August 1782 he had surpassed his teacher and became La Specola's chief modeller. It is reported that Susini's grasp of anatomy was such that he was able to execute an anatomical figure without the aid of a cadaver; Susini however did not have to rely on Fontana alone for anatomical instruction, as another well-known Italian anatomist also worked at the museum.¹⁷⁵ Paolo Mascagni (c.1755-1815) collaborated on a number of projects with Fontana and was commissioned by Emperor Joseph II of Austria in 1785 to make wax anatomical-pathological models for his intended Medical Military Academy (now called the Institute of Medicine in Vienna).¹⁷⁶ Many talented anatomists made their own wax models; one such man was Antonio Scarpa, who during this period made his own anatomical-pathological models¹⁷⁷ and, earlier, another native of Florence, Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi (1658-1740), a medallist and sculptor, executed a number of medium to large figurines, "some of the figures clothed, others nude".¹⁷⁸ The Bologna born sculptor and wax modeller Angelo Sarti executed some models during the 1740s, although he appears to

have been freelance, working at Bologna, Florence and Rome and, unlike Angelo Gabriello Pio, Ottavio Toselli and his brother Nicola Toselli he was not apprenticed to a workshop.¹⁷⁹ Angelo Pio was Ferrini's most talented pupil, becoming one of the main innovators of the Bolognese wax technique, using real hair, glass eyes and fabric for clothing and, like the Toselli brothers, he had associations with Ercole Lelli and Anna Morandi Manzolini.¹⁸⁰

Fragments of organs, limbs and torsos were also executed in wax but the life-size anatomies of men and women are the most impressive and can still be seen at Florence, Bologna, the Josephinum Museum in Vienna and the Wellcome Institute, London. It is believed that some of the Wellcome's acquisitions originated from the school of Susini at Florence, and, indeed, one of the female models has been identified as made by Francesco Calenzuoli (1796-1829), one of Susini's most talented apprentices.¹⁸¹ (See over the page the figure before and after layers removed). The style and technique attributed to the female Florentine models (La Specola, London and Vienna) can easily be identified as coming from the same School although identifying the origins of the 'Wax Venus' at the Anatomy Museum in Bologna is not so easy. It is known that during the mid eighteenth century Bolognese artist Ercole Lelli¹⁸² was responsible for the life-size wooden 'muscle-men' still to be seen in the Anatomy Theatre and that Anna Morandi Manzolini in collaboration with her husband executed a number of the painted wax figures for the University of Bologna, but the origins of

the 'Wax Venus' and her maker remains a mystery.¹⁸³

Lelli's talents made him a multi-faceted artist and he was known in his day to be a painter, cabinet-maker, architect, marble-cutter, goldsmith, mint-engraver, wax modeller and chief medallist. Lelli is known to have collaborated with the surgeon Boari during the 1740s, making anatomical-pathological models using coloured wax, life-size models with glass eyes and real hair; on the grounds of such techniques and stylisation, I suggest that the unnamed 'Wax Venus' was made by him. He certainly had the technical skill, artistic ability and anatomical knowledge to undertake such a model, and, when closely observed this model differs greatly from other wax models attributed to the Florentine modellers (see over the page). When carefully studied both the Bologna and Florence models have a different 'look' to them and can be identified accordingly. Like many of her wax sisters in Florence she comes apart revealing layers of intestinal and pregnancy states and the Bolognese 'Venus' is, in my opinion, the most appealing of all the artificial figures. The Wellcome, La Specola and Josephinum figures can be identified as coming from the same School of wax modellers: they correspond technically and body attitudes are similar, but most important is that physiognomically they are alike. The facial expressions showing eyes semi-open, 'puffy' necks with hair parted and flat to the head lacks the sensual nature of the Bologna model. The 'Wax Venus' holds a sexually provocative pose, normally seen in the erotic paintings of Giorgione or Titian, her thighs being

emphasized by one leg raised, the torso is curvaceously sculpted and, most strikingly, the head is thrown back as if in ecstasy. To see only the head and neck adorned with pearls, eyes closed and hair falling softly around her, one would suppose her to be a figure of beauty from a Titian. Whilst he was in Rome in the 1540s, Titian's conception of the female nude underwent a total transformation and has been described thus: "The body becomes more heroic in scale. She is now unmistakably the Goddess of Love, matchless in her nature and perfect beauty".¹⁸⁴ The articulation of medical and artistic harmony has made the wax anatomy one of completeness. She is not only a medical instrument but a sexually adorned figure, projecting sensual abandonment. The gaze of men, the voyeurism for which Titian's reclining Venuses were created, can also be applied to the 'Wax Venus'. Woman is both the object of desire and a mystery. The layers of wax uncovering the physiological structure of the recumbent woman is but an allegory for the stripping and unveiling of self, of otherness. The jewels adorning her are symbols of transience, of earthly possessions, in contrast to the durable eternal virtues. The concluding section looks at female anatomies such as these in relation to their sex and biology and to the prevailing attitudes of gender in the eighteenth century.

V : Gender, Sexuality and Female Anatomies

Issues such as gender, sex, biology, naturalism and geometry united artists and medical men in their pursuit of scientific accuracy, natural beauty and aesthetics. The great social and medical divide that Schiebinger calls "the feminization of feeling and the masculinization of reason" were issues now being addressed during the Enlightenment.¹⁸⁵ The "power relations" between male/female, nature/science and gender/culture are explored in Ludmilla Jordanova's Sexual Visions (1989), and whereas Thomas Laqueur supports the view that "opposites attract", Jordanova seeks to dispel such obvious binary oppositions.¹⁸⁶ Jordanova argues that the understanding of the female sex, her biological and pathological state has been created by men and manipulated for men; consequently femaleness (passive) has until recent times been a product of scientific and cultural ideologies created by man: "Scientific prowess could be conceptualized as a male gift, and nature could be, among other things, the fertile woman or the archetypal mother".¹⁸⁷ She further illuminates the imbalance of male dominance presiding over science, nature and medicine during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Britain and France, deploring such images of women that were used to support these cultural ideologies. Women have historically been used as symbols or personifications of things other than herself, Jordanova argues, the very nature of which in male hands "is a powerful instrument of ordering the

universe".¹⁸⁸ This view is shared by Marina Warner who proposes, like Jordanova, that women have been used as seductive symbols, signs and images for male gratification.¹⁸⁹ Concerning science and its female imagery Jordanova writes: "Women have often been used to portray abstractions, such as virtues, and vices, and areas of knowledge. Their role in medical and scientific imagery is fully consistent with this".¹⁹⁰ It is this body-image of woman and her sexuality as a cultural commodity that is at issue regarding the Hunter images and the Italian wax models. Medical images of women at this time were in general linear drawings of classical and Renaissance figures that could be adapted to art-anatomy studies, and similarities can be made between anatomical illustrations and their fine art counterparts. For example, I have already suggested the similarity of pose and sexuality of the Bologna 'Wax Venus' can be likened to Titian's reclining female.

If we accept Sherry Ortner's and Harriet Whitehead's view that "gender, sexuality, and reproduction are treated as symbols, invested with meaning by the society in question, as all symbols are", then representation of female genitalia during the eighteenth century was a sign/symbol of sexual emancipation and enlightenment for women.¹⁹¹ Londa Schiebinger's interest in female sexuality and the inclusion of the uterus and female skeleton into the scientific arena of the male gaze has led her to examine the difficulties anatomists had in biologically understanding female genitalia:

Yet, in its uniqueness the uterus still puzzled anatomists ... Was it a muscle? Part of the vascular system? Or perhaps one of the internal organs, like the liver or spleen? One thing was certain, however: the uterus was unique - sui generis - and comparable to no part in the male.¹⁹²

During the eighteenth-century however the medical fraternity were closer to understanding female anatomies than their predecessors, who believed female sexual organs to be inside-out, upside-down mirror images of male genitalia. On this subject Thomas Laqueur quotes Galen's topographical analysis of genitalia belonging to both sexes: "Turn outward the woman's, turn inward, so to speak, and fold double the man's, and you will find the same in both every respect".¹⁹³ If the reader is not convinced of this anatomical contortion then Galen suggests, "try it backwards".¹⁹⁴ In the scientific climate of the 1780s people such as Hunter, Smellie, Fuseli and Blake were increasingly aware of the shifting emphasis of medical boundaries and sexual politics. Generation and gender were under review from a number of perspectives, some of which included obstetrics, anatomy, science and art. "We are in a world of Generation and death" William Blake wrote.¹⁹⁵ On this subject, too, William Hunter said: "What Figures I have seen of the Gravid Uterus are very bad and imperfectly drawn. It is a subject therefore much wanted. These were not drawn from the Imagination but all of them carefully drawn after nature. Women are certainly the objects of our tenderest care".¹⁹⁶ Blake and Hunter draw attention to the interest both

artistically and medically that biology and female sexuality were attracting. Thomas Laqueur's research on sexual differences shows the lack of scientific knowledge and cultural ignorance surrounding biology and its interpretation:

No one was very interested in looking at the anatomical and concrete physiological differences between the sexes until such differences became politically important.¹⁸⁷

The wax models simultaneously show life and death; because of their obstetrical dimension they naturally address issues of generation and decay. The wax figures in question do not confront issues of sexual ambiguities only political issues regarding the female form as a commodity, as a medical tool or a biological carrier. Other facets of eighteenth-century life however confronted the more ambivalent nature of maleness and femaleness, and it is the discourse of ambiguity that is now briefly examined.

The Ambiguity of Sexuality

The covering and exposure of parts and whole bodies was achieved usually through artifice and the eighteenth-century pursuit of "midnight masquerading" cross-dressing is vividly portrayed by Terry Castle and Lynne Friedli in Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment (1987). Masquerading not only

conceals parts of the body but becomes symbolic of ambiguity, and, as Terry Castle shows in her article, the secretive, veiling and mysterious elements that go with masquerading blurs sexual territories, giving women a freedom not usually had by them.¹⁹⁸ The nature of disguise allowed women to meet men on their own terms: "The critics were right to link masquerading with female sexual emancipation; the masquerading indeed provided eighteenth-century women with an unusual sense of erotic freedom".¹⁹⁹ The body as a manipulating tool is explored by Lynne Friedli and in her discussion on 'Passing Women' (women who dressed as men) shows the androgynous-nature of self which illuminates the public-self in relation to private sexual activities. Although the activity of 'cross-dressing' was undertaken by a minority in England at this time it was publicly acceptable for women, not men.²⁰⁰ Friedli further reveals that gender differences shifted prominence as "notions of what constituted masculinity and femininity" were re-evaluated, at a time when medical men were addressing issues of biology, female physiology and her sex.²⁰¹ This ambiguous state of male and femaleness can also be viewed in relation to classical statues, anatomical models and some art-anatomy folios with their inaccurate portrayals of one biology for both sexes. The fracturing of ambiguous states can be seen operating within 1) the physiological representations of men and women, 2) the stylisation of how and what medium has been used to depict gender, 3) the cultural context of 'reading' gender differences and 4) the role of artifice in revealing or

concealing sexual distinctions. As already mentioned Alex Potts and Ronald Paulson have re-examined the male and female traits within a classical 'male' statue which they both suggest feminizes the hero; likewise if we look at the Hunter images of engraved female anatomies, the subject of which shows only female biology, they are imbued with male expectations of the male gaze that has created them, making the images masculinized and unfeminine. The wax models showing the male figure flayed and dissected, with genitalia, are not comparable in terms of their sexuality to the female waxes which not only reveal anatomical organs but also show the female as an erotic object. The male waxes, like their marble counterparts, are put into classical and heroic attitudes, but are void of sexuality, except for their biological state.

The Jenty and D'Agoty mezzotints and the Florentine wax models all have one thing in common: they represent female anatomies as gendered, sexed and biological. The Hunter images, like those by Soemmerring and Albinus, show either female genitalia which reveal male projections of generation, or use a male skeleton to depict the female form which constitutes the undermining of something that is uniquely female belonging to her sex. For although both Soemmerring and Albinus chose their skeletons and female forms with care, the final images are still taken from idealised male and female forms and not from life even though Albinus goes to great lengths to analyse the physical differences between men and women, he observes in man:

That besides the features being stronger or more masculine ... the neck is not so round, the shoulders are broader, the chest is likewise more broad and prominent, the belly more compressed, the haunches narrower, and the limbs more brawny and muscular, though not so round, nor altogether too thick.²⁰²

Interference with the body-line changes both its physical and cultural meanings. Drapery, transparent veiling, headdress, corsets and wrapping cloth around the edges of limbs creates a different body-image that can be interpreted accordingly. This pictorial device of cutting into or across the body-line was used by many artists; covering or sectioning of the female form was not unusual. If we compare a number of art-anatomy images of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it becomes evident that this device of wrapping fragmented limbs was not peculiar to medicalized notions of female anatomies as Jordanova suggests, but an artistic device dating back to classical times. William Hunter's images of female anatomies was part of a genre and not dominated by medico-scientific misogyny. William Smellie used this method in A Sett of Anatomical Tables (1754), where the classical use of wrapping cloth around limbs serves to give positive endings to his truncated images. The writings of Dorinda Outram relate physical body-line to social conditions leading Outram to compare the lavishly adorned bodies before the French Revolution using "make-up, jewellery, artificial hair and facial patches" which were used by both sexes and afterwards "the 'new minimalist' clothes of the Revolution" which reflected a more sombre and serious

society.²⁰³ The skin, bare and uncovered, becomes for Hunter and, later, for John Berger: clothing. The quilting of skin understood by Hunter both revealed and concealed and for Berger "the nude is condemned to never being naked. Nudity is a form of dress".²⁰⁴ Cultural definitions and visual icons of sexuality, nakedness and nudity are often associated with the female form: her spectator and herself.

The ambiguous gender state of some, though not all, of the medical images of the human figure draws attention to the multi-faceted nature of discourses on the body. The feminizing of classical statues and the masculinizing of female anatomies shows that boundaries of sexuality and gender refuse to be scientifically calculated and mathematically measured even during the Enlightenment.

Summary

In conclusion I would like to draw attention to the evolutionary process that we have witnessed here, from the Renaissance écorchés to the gynaecological and sensually-explicit wax figurines of two centuries later. We not only observe techniques being employed differently but the complex relations between men and women are altered as cultures change. Greek culture idealised the male body and not the female, similarly during the Renaissance we have classical ideals represented in dominant portrayals of the heroic male and yet a new body, that of the female, is emerging, eventually becoming the dominant figure. There is no equivalent of the eighteenth-century 'Wax Venus' in the Renaissance for as we have seen all the écorchés were male, showing only superficial muscles. Renaissance artists used wax but they never thought of revealing the intestinal workings in either men or women in the third dimension, and yet many of the anatomical writings at this time, as recently documented by Thomas Laqueur, refer to the generative organs. By the eighteenth century we find that many of the art-anatomy images produced are of the female with attention given to the uterus. This revaluation of the uterus as a biological organ gave rise to new interpretations of sexuality. She is now the quintessential mother, goddess and sexual woman. The uterus was begotten of woman, for woman, and not as previously thought, an inferior male penis turned inside-out: the lassoing of woman's biological sex and her

gender begins to emerge.

Images of pregnancy and would-be motherhood that emerged from the eighteenth century through the sexually adorned waxes are very different from 'Mother and Child' renditions that furnish the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. General notions of women have historically changed but in particular images of reproduction and motherhood; this is partly due to our concepts of pregnancy through the visual arts.²⁰⁵ We perceive fifteenth-century motherhood through religious paintings, such as Raphael's 'The Madonna and Child with the Infant Baptist', showing harmony: a symbol for our earthly and spiritual families. Whereas, by the eighteenth century we are being given impregnated wax figurines portraying the non-spiritual, displaying the biological workings. What was once sacred is now all-too-human. She encapsulates Eve before and after the Fall. Ercole Lelli's depiction of Eve shows a youthful woman with long flowing hair, her waxen-skin sculpted into substantial thighs and pouting mouth and yet she is the same woman that Masaccio depicts in 'Expulsion from Paradise'. Both images of woman belong to motherhood and womanhood. Conception ceases to be a mystery, protected behind cadmium yellow and scarlet red pigment, all is revealed but not revered. The secret has been de-mystified, de-coded for all to see - the 'Wax Venus' is both container and contained. She is no longer a Madonna-like image but half-Venus and half-Woman. She is at once idealised and a physiological entity. Her image has evolved from the pure and divine-type Venus such as can be

found in Bronzino's 'Allegory with Venus and Cupid', showing smooth porcelain skin devoid of any hair, whilst the 'Wax Venus' reveals pubic hair and gravid uterus. We perceive the Bologna 'Wax Venus' as a woman displaying her sexual generative organs with sensual prowess. This is not an image of illness or death, nor a decaying carcass, but an image of reproduction and health.²⁰⁶ With head thrown back as if in sexual abandon we simultaneously connect: pleasure, coitus and reproduction. Titian's Venus' "are works of great beauty upon clearly erotic themes, but they are presented with the dignity befitting a goddess", and in comparing the reclining wax model against Titian's painted figure similarities become evident (see over the page).

The female as both medical instrument and aesthetic object has here been explored and it has become clear that the wax models are symbols of male and female sexuality. The secret and complex nature of female sexuality unfolds itself by means of physical layers in contrast to the male waxes that display external genitalia only; these male figures are without secret compartments and do not reveal their sexuality through such devices. The female wax models exhibit medical and scientific awareness that woman is an individual set apart from man and his physiology, promoting a clearer understanding of female gendering, generation and her sex.

FOOTNOTES

1. Knoefel, P. K. 'Florentine Anatomical Models in Wax and Wood', Medicina Nei Secoli, vol. 15, no. 3, Sept-Dec 1978, pp. 329-340.
Grippi, R. 'A Sixteenth Century Bozzetto', Art Bulletin, vol. 38, 1956, pp. 143-147.

2. Condivi, A. The Life of Michelangelo, trans, A. S. Wohl, Phaidon Press Ltd, U.S.A. 1976, pp. 29-30.
The biography of Michelangelo supplies much evidence that he studied anatomy throughout his life and in his youth he gained favours of the prior of the monastery of Augustinian hermits attached to the Santo Spirito Church in Florence by making a crucifix for him. The grateful prior helped the artist obtain corpses from the nearby Oratorio San Bastiano hospital, enabling Michelangelo to dissect the cadavers on the premises of the monastery. Preparing to write his own treatise on anatomy together with his own theory of art, Michelangelo associated himself with Realdo Colombo (1516-1559), a physician and personal friend. Born Matte O Realdo Colombo at Cremona he later taught anatomy in Rome and published De Re Anatomica Libri XV (Venice 1559), which was undertaken with the help of Michelangelo. Commenting on Michelangelo, Realdo was later to say: "Fortune has presented me with the

greatest painter in the world to assist me in this".

See Goldscheider, L. Michelangelo Drawings,

Phaidon Press, London 1951.

Elkins, J. 'Michelangelo and the Human Form:

His Knowledge and Use of Anatomy',

Art History, vol. 7, no. 2, 1984, pp. 176-186. In this

article Elkins deals with Michelangelo's knowledge of

surface muscles and the degree of anatomical under-

standing Michelangelo possessed. Elkins concludes

that Michelangelo used "dissection, observation

and the Antique", three sources from which to record

the human body from:

Where Michelangelo excelled beyond what we can do was in a quality so simple it escapes the sieves of scholarship: the ability to observe. The anatomic accuracy of his figures is not due to dissection but to observation, and in fact the observation is so penetrating that it blocks attempts to isolate the other sources of forms, dissection and the Antique. Since the forms are forms of life, visible on the living body, they are not a closed subject for specialists, but are open to anyone as a new way to approach and appreciate his achievement.

It is recorded that Realdo dissected 14 cadavers in a single year.

3. Renaissance artists took a greater interest in the accurate portrayal of the human form and because of this, naturalism in art (circa 1450-1550) was revived. Da Vinci was known as the 'artist-anatomist' who had created a new science

and was the spearhead of the new creative approach to anatomy. He treated the body as an instrument of movement governed by mechanical laws, even the expressions of emotions he thought were controlled in this way.

4. On seeing Leonardo's work of art Raphael was said to have been amazed and entranced by the expression in the figures of both men and women. Gradually abandoning what he had learned from his previous teacher, Pietro Perugino, Raphael tried to imitate Leonardo's studies. Raphael was determined to change and improve his style and as he had never before studied the nude as intensely as this, he first began comparing muscles in living and dead bodies. He gave attention to the structure of the bones, nerves and veins, and studied how the fleshy parts are formed and how from different viewpoints they change and alter. Jones, R. and Penny, N. Raphael, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1983. Joannides, P. The Drawings of Raphael With a Complete Catalogue, Phaidon Press, Oxford 1983. For an excellent general account of both Raphael and Michelangelo see Popham, A. E. and Wilde, J. Italian Drawings at Windsor Castle, Phaidon Press, London 1949. For reference to Raphael's dealings with medicine, see King, C. "The Liturgical and Commemorative Allusions in Raphael's 'Transfiguration and Failure to Heal'", Journal of the Warburg and

Courtauld Institutes, 45, 1982, pp. 148-159.

Berenson, B. The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York 1909, pp. 77-78: "What the Nude is and whence its supereminence in the figurative arts.. I must limit myself to the statement that the nude human figure is the only object which in perfection conveys to us values of touch and particularly movement. Hence the painting of the Nude is the supreme endeavour of the very greatest artists; and, when successfully treated, the most life-communicating and life-enhancing theme in existence".

5. See Haskell, F. and Penny, N. Taste and the Antique
The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900, Yale University, New Haven and London 1981. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 26th August 1797, vol. II, p. 334: "Resolved, That the Hercules be placed in the Centre of the Staircase, in the evening Vacation of the Academy".
A poetic dialogue between two Royal Academy figures was written by Peter Pinder for the Morning Chronicle, 17th January 1792:
Dialogue Between two statues in one of the Upper Rooms of the Royal Academy -
Statue I - What keeps old Hercules below - A fellow of such rare renown?
Statue II - Plague take thee, hold thy tongue - for know, If he comes up, we all go down.

Eitner, L. Neoclassicism and Remanticism, 1750-1850,

Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1970, vol. I, pp. 18-21.

6. See Cowan, T. W. Wax Craft, London 1908.
Bennion, E. Antique Medical Instruments, Sotheby Park Bernet, London, and University of California Press, Berkeley 1979.
7. Brown, G. B. (ed.), Vasari On Technique, Dover, New York 1960, pp. 198-199. To show how wax is modelled Vasari writes: "A little animal fat and turpentine and black pitch are put in the wax, and of these ingredients it is the fat that makes it more supple; the turpentine adds tenacity and the pitch gives it the black colour and a certain consistency, so that after it has been worked and left to stand it becomes hard". For further recipes in wax see Billing, A. The Science of Gems, Jewels, Coins and Medals, Daldy, Isbister, and Co., London 1875. Pope-Hennessy, J. Essays on Italian Sculpture, Phaidon Press, London 1968. Idem. Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture. A Catalogue, Phaidon Press, London 1963.
8. Leonardo was acquainted with the philosopher and anatomist Marc Antonio Della Torre (c. 1473-1506/12), who, whilst lecturing in Pavia was one of the first

to illustrate the problems of medicine. Leonardo helped Della Torre by executing red chalk drawings of bodies that he had dissected. He showed bone structure, the nerves and the muscles covering them; see Clark, K. The Drawings of Leonardo Da Vinci in the Collection at Windsor Castle, Phaidon Press, London 1969, vol. I, writings about the plates, vol. II, general illustrations, vol. III, anatomical drawings. Richter, I. A. (ed.), The Notebooks of Leonardo Da Vinci, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1980, Chapter IV, pp. 144-174, for references to anatomy, botany, physiology and human proportion. Keele, K. D. 'Leonardo Da Vinci's Influence on Renaissance Anatomy', Medical History, 8, 1964, pp. 369-373. See also Martin Kemp's numerous writings on Leonardo, mentioned in full throughout this thesis. Vasari, G. Lives of the Artists, Penguin Classics, London 1965, pp. 255-271. Gebhard, B. 'From Theatrum Anatomicum to Medical Museum', Ciba Symposium, March 1947, pp. 565-573. Some people propose that the first artist to use wax was not in fact Da Vinci but Andrea Di Verrocchio (1435-1488), a Florentine apprenticed to Donatello and then Da Vinci's teacher. For an account of Leonardo and Verrocchio see Streeter, E. C. 'The Role of Certain Florentines in the History of Anatomy; Artistic and

Practical', Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, vol. 27, 1916, pp. 113-118. Huard, P.
Léonard de Vinci: Dessins Anatomiques, Les Editions
Roger Dascosta, Paris 1968.

9. Vasari, G. 'Life of Michelangelo', in Lives of the Artists, pp. 325-442. Tolnay, C. De. Casa Buonarroti. The Sculptures of Michelangelo and the Family Collection, Arnaud, Florence 1970. Steinberg, L. 'Michelangelo and the Doctors', Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 56, Winter 1982, pp. 543-553.
10. MSS. Box. I.R.C.R.(i), Victoria and Albert Museum archives, 'Catalogue of Models in Wax and Terra Cotta, known as The Gherardini Collection, now being exhibited at the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House', March 1854. The Gherardini Collection was purchased in 1854 by the Victoria and Albert Museum for £2,110 and extracts from a Report made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Mr Herbert R.A. and Dr Dyce R.A. (dated 10th January 1854) confirming the Collection's authenticity and worth and on the basis of this Report the small table-top sculptures were purchased. The group of maquettes includes a number of anatomical pieces. Although the authenticity of the pieces is in question, some of the fragments of limbs and torsos are on display in the Sculpture Department. I am

grateful to Malcolm Baker, Assistant Keeper, for his help and advice regarding these small écorchés.

See Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook (2), Phaidon Press, London 1970, 'The Gherardini Collection of Italian Sculpture', pp. 7-26. Maclagan, E.

'The Wax Models by Michael Angelo in the Victoria and Albert Museum', The Burlington Magazine, 44, 1924,

pp. 4-16. Pope-Hennessy, J. Catalogue of Italian Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum, 3 vols,

Phaidon Press, London 1964, vol. II, (text),

p. 434 and vol. III, (plates), pp. 267-274,

p.286, pp.294-295 regarding male anatomical

figures and écorchés of the sixteenth-century.

Goldscheider, L. The Sculptures of Michelangelo,

2nd edition, Phaidon Edition, George Allen

and Unwin Ltd, London 1950. Idem. Michelangelo's

Drawings, Phaidon Press, London 1951.

Disputes regarding the authenticity of some of the figures in the Gherardini Collection have led Pope-Hennessy and anatomist Romy Hilloowala to suggest

that infact they do not belong to Michelangelo,

Hilloowala proposes the artist to be Michelangelo's

student Pompeo Leoni; Maclagan believes them to be

Michelangelo's models. Pyke, E. J. A Bibliographical

Dictionary of Wax Modellers, Oxford University Press,

Oxford 1973, p. 91.

11. Mayor, A. Hyatt. Artists and Anatomists, Artists' Limited Edition in Association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, U.S.A. 1984, pp. 52-53. Ameisenowa, Z. The Problems of the Écorché and the Three Anatomical Models in the Jagiellonian Library, Poland Akademia Nauk, Monografia, Wrocław 1963, passim.
Streeter, E. C. 'An Unpublished Bronze Écorché', Annals of Medical History, vol. I, 1917, pp. 73-74.

12. See Michelangelo's 'St. Bartholomew' from the 'Last Judgment', Sistine Chapel, Rome. Also see MacLagan, E. 'The use of Deathmasks by Florentine Sculptors', Burlington Magazine, XLIII, 1923, pp. 303-304.

13. It was usually the printed images of male écorchés that showed them holding their own skin and very rarely can the three-dimensional figures be seen doing this, however a few do exist at the Jagiellonian Library which are by unnamed artists.

14. Price Amerson, L. jnr. 'The Problem of the Écorché: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Sixteenth-Century and Later Periods', Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania 1975, as its title suggests this thesis is primarily a catalogue of diverse écorchés and does not in any way attempt to analyse, re-interpret or make cultural judgments about them.

15. For an in-depth analysis of muscle structure and Greek statues see Faller, A. 'Flesh and Muscle', Ciba Symposium, vol. 7, no. 6, February 1960, pp. 266-267.
Herrlinger, R. History of Medical Illustration: From Antiquity to A.D. 1600, Pitman Medical and Scientific Publishing Company Ltd, London 1970. Garrison, F. H. and Streeter, E. C. 'Sculpture and Painting as Modes of Anatomical Illustration', Annals of Medical History, vol. III, 4, 1919, pp. 320-325.

16. Antonio Pollaiuolo (?1429/32-1498), was born in Florence and worked as a goldsmith, painter, sculptor and medallist; see Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 112.

17. Mayor, A. H. Artists and Anatomists, pp. 50-53, one of Pollaiuolo's most famous prints is his 'Battle of Naked Men' an engraving executed in the 1460s.
See Fusco, L. 'The Nude as Protagonist: Pollaiuolo's Figural Style Explicated by Leonardo's Study of Static Anatomy, Movement and Functional Anatomy', PhD. thesis, New York University 1978.

18. For examples of Academies and human anatomy drawing see Ameisenowa, Problems of the Écorché, pp. 56-62, especially depictions of Michael Sweerts (Swars or Suars) drawing school in the seventeenth-century in

Rome. Although of Dutch origin, Sweerts spent many years in Italy and a number of paintings show interiors of his school revealing écorchés, casts, cadavers and living bodies from which to paint and sculpt.

19. For perspective, anatomy and science see Mayor, Artists and Anatomists, pp. 60-64. Kemp, M. The Science of Art, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1990.

20. For examples see Ameisenowa, Problems of the Écorché.

21. See De Cort's engraving of 'The Academy', dated 1578, which shows an écorché figure strung-up by his neck and wrist. For references to other anatomy theatre where dissection took place see Castiglioni, A. 'The Origin and Development of the Anatomical Theatre to the End of the Renaissance', Ciba Symposium, vol. 3, 2, May 1941, pp. 826-844. Cetto, A. M. 'Iconographie Anatomique - v. Le Theatre Anatomique de Leyde', Ciba Symposium, vol. 6, 4, October 1958, pp. 169-172.

22. Malraux, A. The Voices of Silence, trans. S. Gilbert, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1978, p. 438.

23. Bucci, M. Anatomia Come Arte, Edizioni D'Arte Il Fiorinio, Florence 1969, pp. 154-156.
Vasari, Lives of the Artists, p. 243, Baccio Bandinelli prepared figures in wood and wax although he did not execute these himself and it was given to Benedetto da Rovezzano to cast it in metal.
Ameisenowa, Problems of the Écorché, shows 'active' écorchés in a variety of poses which are beautifully crafted depicting superficial muscles. Bandinelli's talent as a designer as well as his grasp of anatomy secured his fame throughout Europe and in rivalry with Michelangelo created a 'Hercules' that, he said, would rival the 'David'. MSS. Anatomical Drawings belonging to Bandinelli can be seen in the British Library Prints and Drawings Room.
24. Both the figures of Bandinelli and Michelangelo show amazing similarities especially in the attitudes and bodily tensions. Schultz, B. Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy, University of Michigan Research Press, Michigan 1985.
25. Herrlinger, R. Volcher Coiter 1534-1576, M. Edelmann, Nurenberg 1952. Blaine, G. 'Biological Teaching Models and Specimens', The Lancet, vol. 2, August 25th, 1951, pp. 337-340.

26. Avery, C. Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture, Phaidon Press, Oxford 1987. Radcliffe, A. Giambologna 1529-1608, The Arts Council of Great Britain, London 1978. Avery, C. 'Giambologna's Sketch-Models and his Technique', The Connoisseur, vol. CLXXXIX, September 1978. Holderbaum, J. 'A Bronze by Giovanni Bologna and a Painting by Bronzino', Burlington Magazine, vol. XCVIII, 1956, pp. 439-445. Pope-Hennessy, J. 'A New Work by Giovanni Bologna', Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin II, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1966, pp. 75-77. Scott-Elliot, A. H. 'The Statues by Francavilla in the Royal Collection', Burlington Magazine, vol. XCVIII, 1956, pp. 65-77. Baldinucci, F. Notizie de' Professori del Disegno a Firenze 1681-1728. Parte Seconda, che Coutieue Decennali dal 1500 al 1580. Firenze 1688. Vita di Pietro Francavilla, Scultore Fiammingo, especially pp. 203-209. Ameisenowa, Problem of the Écorché, pp. 47-54. A replica of a male écorché that is in Germany can be found in the Sculpture Department, Victoria and Albert Museum. Dr Anthony Radcliffe (Head Keeper) suggest that this is by Francavilla for a number of reasons but primarily because the écorché is mannerist in style regarding its "point of contact with the manner of Giambologna", and that: "A portrait of Francavilla painted in 1576 by an unknown Florentine artist shows the sculptor

holding in his left hand a small statuette which is similar in composition to this écorché statuette". Further evidence is given by Zofia Ameisenowa and Harald Olsen who cite Franvavilla's bronze statue as residing in his Museum; see Olsen, H. Aeldre Udenlandsk Skulptur, Statens Museum for Kunst, 1980, pp. 121-122. Shearman, J. Mannerism, Penguin Books, London 1967.

27. Bucci, Anatomia Come Arte, pp. 157-158. Belloni, L. 'Anatomia Plastica', Ciba Symposium, vol. 7, 5, December 1959, pp. 229-234. Price-Amerson, 'A Catalogue of Écorchés', pp. 155-156. The Iconographic Collection at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London have a number of photographs of figures by Cigoli.

28. Cardi, G. B. Vita di Lodovico Cardi Cigoli, San Miniato 1913.

29. Knoefel, P. K. 'Florentine Anatomical Models in Wax and Wood', pp. 329-340.

30. Hope, C. (ed.), The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, trans. John Addington Symonde, Phaidon Press, Oxford 1983. Cellini's autobiography refers to his sculptures, especially a model made for the Pope: "I made both a drawing and a model. The model was

constructed of wood and wax, and in place of the node I designed three fair-sized figures in full-relief representing Faith, Hope and Charity", (p. 106).

31. The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, trans. and intro. George Bull, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth 1983, pp. 273-274 regarding his friendship with Guido. Brockbank, W. The Man Who Was Vidius, reprint, Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, vol. 19, London 1956.

Though originally named Guido Guidi he later latinised his name to Vidus Vidius.

32. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 26-28.
33. Cellini, Autobiography, pp. 273-274. See also Stokes, A. Stones of Rimini, Schocken Books, New York 1969, pp. 105-166, regarding carving and modelling.
34. Bidloo published his book on human anatomy in 1690 entitled Outleding Des Menschelyken Lichaams, giving some of the anatomical plates to the English surgeon William Cowper. Cowper (1666-1709) later published these plates with a new text written in English under his own name, consequently the engraved title-page is that of the original edition except that the shield which contained Bidloo's name and title now

bears Cowper's name and changed title. See Cowper, W. The Anatomy of Humane Bodies with Figures Drawn After the Life by some of the best Masters in Europe, Oxford 1697. For references to Frederik Ruysch see Knoefel, 'Florentine Anatomical Models in Wax and Wood', pp. 329-340. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 125. Jan Swammerdam the seventeenth-century physician also used wax for anatomical and pathological models and for teaching see Pyke, idem. p. 143.

35. Bidloo, G. Medicinae Doctoris et Chirurgi, Anatomia Humani Corporis, Centum et Quinque Tabulis per Artificiosiss, Amsterdam 1685.
36. Ibid. The flaps and secret compartments to be found in Bidloo's figures are similar to those in the wax models.
37. Ibid.
38. Cowper, W. The Anatomy of Humane Bodies with Figures Drawn After the Life by Some of the Best Masters in Europe, Oxford 1697.
39. See MSS. Attendance Register for the Antique Academy 1795-1796 at the Royal Academy of Arts archives.

Haskell, F. and Penny, N. Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900, passim.

Radcliffe, A 'Acquisitions of Sculpture by the Royal Academy', Apollo, January 1969, pp. 44-51.

MSS. Royal Academy Scrapbook, SB/84, 15th July 1816, letter to the Earl of Darnley from Benjamin West and Henry Howard requesting the loan of Titians 'Venus and Adonis' to be copied by students in the Royal Academy Schools.

40. Paulson, R. Breaking and Remaking. Aesthetic Practice in England, 1700-1820, Rutgers, The State University, U.S.A. 1989, pp. 168-192, 'feminizing the hero'.
Potts, A. 'The Violence of the Ideal Male Nude', unpublished paper, The Body in Representation, Birkbeck College and Art Historians Association, 21-22 September 1990. For comparative information on the male figure see Walters, M. The Male Nude: A New Perspective, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1979. Young, W. Eros Denied, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1965.
41. Ameisenowa, Problem of the Écorché, pp. 62-66.
42. Ibid.

43. See Dittrick, H. 'Chinese Medicine Dolls',
Bulletin of the History of Medicine, vol. 25,
 1952, pp. 422-429. Veith, I. 'The Medicine Doll
 With Bound Feet', Medical Heritage, vol. 2, no. 1,
 Jan-Feb 1986, pp. 63-65. Russell, K. F. 'Ivory
 Anatomical Manikins', Medical History, vol. 16,
 1972, pp. 131-142. 'Diagnostic Dolls', MD,
 December 1970, pp. 159-161. I am also grateful to
 Fraser Swift, Assistant Keeper of the small ivory
 figures at the Science Museum for allowing me to see
 the complete collection. Duenschel, D. and Vaubel, E.
 'The Use of Female Figurines by Chinese Doctors',
International Congress of the History of Medicine,
 vol. 2, 23rd September London 1972, pp. 991-993.

44. For example there were 'Philosophical Exhibitions'
 showing various curiosities such as fossils, marine,
 mineral, animal and anatomies at Mr. Martin's
 Museum at his house in Fleet Street, this was
 advertised in the Morning Chronicle, Monday, 25th
 May 1772.

45. Altick, R. D. Shows of London, Harvard University
 Press, New Haven and London 1978.

46. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 42-43.

47. Garlick, K. and Macintyre, A. (eds), The Diary of Joseph Farington, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1979, vol. II, p. 286. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 158.
48. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 42-43.
49. Timbs, J. Curiosities of London, Virtue and Co., Ltd, London 1855, pp. 753-756. Altick, Shows of London, p. 93. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 36-38. Smith, J. T. Nollekens And His Times, Century Hutchinson Ltd, London 1986, p. 114. Wheatley, H. B. and Cunningham, P. London Past and Present Its History, Associations, and Traditions, John Murray, London 1891, vol. II, p. 61, p. 230. Idem. vol. III, p. 206.
50. Timbs, Curiosities of London, pp. 753-756.
51. Altick, Shows of London, p. 51. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 92-93.
52. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 92.
53. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 5-7.
54. Ibid. p. 137.

55. Ibid. pp. 143-144.

56. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 16 and Supplement III, p. 7.

57. For Biheron's medical career see
 Schiebinger, L. The Mind has No Sex, Women in the Origins of Modern Science, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London 1989, pp. 26-36.

58. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 149-151.
 Altick, Shows of London, p. 333.

59. Timbs, Curiosities of London, pp. 753-756.
 Wheatley, London Past and Present, vol. III, pp. 412-413. Idem. vol. I, pp. 90-91.
 Graham, H. A Doctor's London, Allan Wingate, London 1952, pp. 20-21.

60. Personal correspondence with Madam Tussaud's in London reveals that no archival material exists. The Blackpool Tussaud's has a number of wax anatomies showing fragments of limbs and torsos from the nineteenth-century see Louis Tussaud's Waxworks a Catalogue of exhibits 1988. Obstetrical models show 'normal uterus', 'stage five of birth', 'a still-born child' and 'displacement of the womb'. Admission to

Anatomy Exhibition is for adults only. A large percentage of wax models at the Blackpool Tussaud's was acquired in 1937 when the anatomical collection was founded by Dr Joseph Thornton Woodhead and originally exhibited in Lime Street, Liverpool. Prior to this the collection was shown at the Museum of Anatomy, 29 Paradise Street, Liverpool although the models originally came from Florence, Munich and Paris and were used for teaching purposes. Alfred John Reynolds (b. 1822) was a wax modeller whose two sons were trained in the same profession in Italy and in 1854 established a waxworks museum at the Freemason's Hall, Liverpool. This was closed in 1923 and later house at Paradise Street and in 1937 the whole collection was sold to Louis Tussaud and exhibited at Blackpool. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 119. As early as the eighteenth-century there are references to a wax museum in Liverpool though tracing its exact identity has proved difficult, however I am grateful to Christine Hillam for bringing to my attention the Bickerton Papers, The University of Liverpool regarding The Liverpool Museum of Anatomy in the nineteenth-century.

61. Altick, The Shows of London, plate 18 shows the royal effigies at Westminster from a drawing by John Carter in 1786. Farington, Diary, vol. I, p. 12.

Wheatley, London Past and Present, vol. III,
pp. 462-476 for reference to the history of Westminster
Abbey.

62. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 36 and p. 78.
63. Haviland, T. N. and Parish, L. C. 'A Brief Account of
the use of Wax Models in the Study of Medicine',
Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,
vol. 25, quarterly, 1970, pp. 52-75. Dreyfuss, M.
'The Anatomical Models of Dr. Auzoux', Medical
Heritage, vol. 2, no. 1, Jan-Feb. 1986, pp. 60-62.
Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 11, pp. 82-86.
Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851,

pp. 397-398. The History of the London Burkers,
T. Kelly, London 1832, pp. 366-376.
64. The Annals of the Fine Arts, April 1819, p. 155.
65. Instrument and Laws of the Royal Academy, London 1768,
pp. 23-24 regarding the plaister academy.
66. Gunnis, R. Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851,
Odhams Press Ltd, London 1953, pp. 123-124.
Whitley, W. Artists And Their Friends in England,
1700-1799, 2 vols, Medical Society, London and Boston

1928, pp. 86-87. Dibdin, E. R. 'Liverpool Art and Artists in the Eighteenth-Century', Walpole Society, vol. 6, 1917-18, pp. 12-93, for information on Deare's family and origins in Liverpool.

67. Smith, Nollekens His Life And Times, p. 274.
68. Ibid. pp. 126-127.
69. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, vol. I, 1768-84, p. 297, 29th December 1780.
70. Whitley, Artists And Friends in England, vol. I, p. 277.
71. Ibid. MSS. Northcote Papers, NOR/6, Royal Academy for a letter from James to Samuel Northcote regarding a cast of a cadaver taken at the Academy.
72. MSS. Council Minutes, Royal Academy, vol. II, 1792, 6th April 1792, p. 159. MSS. Council Minutes, Royal Academy, vol. II, 1792, 27th March 1792, p. 157.
73. Farington, Diary, vol. II, pp. 461-462 and vol. III, p. 703.
74. Wheatley, London Past and Present, vol. III, p. 74.

75. MSS. Royal Academy Scrapbook, SB/47, 'Bill of Expenses of the Body from Surgeon's Hall', which covered the cost of coach hire, man delivering the corpse, moulding and additional money to a certain Cockerton for assisting.

76. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 25th March 1769.

77. Whinney, M. Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830, Penguin Books, London 1988, in particular chapter 18 for Royal Academy sculptors.
 Benezit, E. Dictionnaire Critique et Documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs, 10 vols, Librairie Grund, France 1976.

78. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, vol. I, 11th June 1773, p. 160.

79. I should like to thank the curator and archivist at the Royal Academy of Arts for allowing me to inspect the anatomical figures still in existence in the Academy Schools from which students still draw.
 MSS. RA, Council Minutes, vol. I, 10th February 1784:
 "Resolved - That Mess. Bacon, Carlini, Nollekens, Tyler and Wilton, be desired to prepare Models for the Statue by 5th April next and to send them to the Academy".

80. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellérs, p. 140 and Supplement p. 38. Smith, Nollekens And His Times, p. 273. Society of Artists Catalogue, 1760, no page given: "Spang was a Dane who modelled on a reduced scale the Anatomical Figure in the Royal Academy". Grave, A. The Royal Academy of Arts - A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work From its Foundation in 1769 to 1904, H. Graves and Co., Birmingham 1895, p. 242, regarding an anatomical figure by Spang exhibited in 1761. Price-Amerson, L. 'Dr William Hunter and Spang', paper presented at the Second International congress on Wax Modelling at the Victoria and Albert Museum, 20th April 1978.
81. Ameisenowa, The Problem of the Écorché, pp.69-75, 'The Revival of Artistic Anatomy in France Jean Antoine Houdon'. For reference to other French models see Duval, M. and Chyer, E. Histoire de l'Anatomie Plastique: Les Livres and Les Écorchés, Societe Francaise d'Editoine d'Art, Paris 1898. L'Écorché, Musee des Beaux-Arts de Rouen, Paris 1977 - this is a catalogue of models.
82. Both in scale and style some of the anatomical figures now at the Royal Academy correspond with others of Houdon's figures that Ameisenowa refers to.

83. MSS. RA, Tradesmen Registers, Moulder and Caster in Plaister, 1791-1823, p. 142. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 18th February 1779, vol. II, 1779, p. 127. Also advertised in 1752 was Gheys, J. Proposals For Casting in Plaster of Paris, by Subscription, London 1752, Gheys was a carver who worked at Mr Pickford's at Hyde Park Corner. MSS. Royal Academy Scrapbook, SB/37, 1798, 'Printed Act for Encouraging the Art of Making New Models and Casts of Busts and other things therein mentioned'.

84. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 18th February 1779, vol. II, 1779, p. 127.

85. Weinglass, D. H. (ed.), The Collected English Letters of Henry Fuseli, Kraus International Publishers, U.S.A. 1982, p. 372. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, pp. 69-70. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 21-22.

86. Sandby, W. History of the Royal Academy of Arts, 2 vols, Longman, Green, Longman et al, London 1862, pp. 216-217.

87. MacKay, J. The Dictionary of Western Sculpture in Bronze, Antique Collectors' Club, Suffolk 1977. MSS. RA, Anderdon Papers, AND/13/301;

Northcote Paper, NOR/11; Society of Artists Records, SA/34/14, SA/36/24, for references to Edward Burch.

88. A medallion in bronze of William Hunter executed by Edward Burch can be seen in Room 64, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Dalton, O. M. Catalogue of the Engraved Gems of the Post-Classical Periods, Longmans and Co., London 1915. For mention of James Tassie and The Foulis Academy see Pyke, Biography Wax Modellers, pp. 146-147. Farington, Diary, vol. III, p. 1093.

89. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 11th June 1774, vol. I, p. 179. Wood, Sir H. T. A History of the Royal Society of Arts, John Murray, London 1913, pp. 222-25.

90. See Fitzmaurice, E. G. P. Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, 2 vols, Macmillan and Co., Ltd, London 1912. Black, J. (ed.), British Politics and Society from Walpole to Pitt 1742-1789, Macmillan Press Ltd, London 1990.

91. MSS. Hunterian Collection, HRII, University of Glasgow for notes on Edward Burch and his wax muscle-men. For early depictions of 'muscle men' showing anatomic organs see Vesalius, A. De Humani Corporis Fabrica, Oporinus, Basel 1543.

92. Burch, E. A Catalogue of One Hundred Proofs of Gems,
printed for the author, London 1795, p. xii.
93. Ibid. pp. viii-xiv.
94. Ibid. p. 15-16.
95. Farington, Diary, vol. II, p. 371.
96. Farington, Diary, vol. II, p. 461.
97. Ibid.
98. MSS. RA, Anderdon Papers, AND/13/301 (XIII), ticket
dated 1808 with Edward Burch's signature on it, shown
in Appendix III of this chapter.
99. Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, pp. 269-273.
100. Ibid. Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and
Present, vol. I, p. 330.
101. Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, pp. 269-273.
102. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, p. 81.
MSS. RA, Jupp Catalogues, JUPP/2 for additonal

reference to Carlini's sculpture 'Maritime Power and Riches'.

103. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 7th January 1784, vol. I, p. 352.
104. Smith, Nollekens and his Times, pp. 102-103.
105. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, pp. 226-227.
106. Salvage, J. G. Anatomie du Gladiateur Combattant, Applicable Aux Beaux Arts, Chez l'Anteur, Paris 1812.
107. MSS. RA, Fuseli Papers, FU/1/4 letter from Henry Fuseli to John Knowles, 30th September 1819.
108. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 20th December 1834.
109. Smith, Nollekens and his Times, p. 256-259.
110. MSS. Royal Academy Scrapbook, SB/55.
111. Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, vol. II, p. 586.
112. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 13th July 1809, vol. IV, p. 136.

113. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 48.

114. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, pp. 147-148.
 Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 148, Lady Elizabeth Templeton (1747-1823) was a sculptor and wax modeller who executed works for John Flaxman and Josiah Wedgwood between 1783 and 1787. Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, vol. I, p. 295 and vol. III, pp. 447-448,

115. Choulant, L. History and Bibliography of Anatomic Illustration, trans. Mortimar Frank, Schuman's, New York 1945, pp. 341-343, pp. 370-402.

116. Smith, Nollekens and his Times, p. 101: "That great and good man, Flaxman, the 'Sculptor of Eternity', as Blake styled him". Weinglass, The Collected English Letters of Fuseli, p. 556. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 19th February 1800, vol. III, p. 52: "Read a Letter from Mr John Flaxman, accompanied with a Bas Relief as a temporary deposit, until he does produce a Figure in Marble". MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 1st September 1801, vol. III, p. 110: "Mr Flaxman presented a Cast from his Model of an Academy Figure, to be deposited in the Academy".

117. For biographical details of Nollekens's students see
Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, passim.
118. These names have been taken from the Plaister
Academy Register, The Royal Academy of Arts for
biographical details see Gunnis, Dictionary of
Biographical Sculptors, passim.
119. Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts - A Complete
Dictionary of Contributors and their Work, passim.
A number of these students mentioned have been
mentioned elsewhere in this thesis.
120. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 112-113.
121. Ibid.
122. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, p. 311.
123. For biographical details of Sheldon's students see
Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, passim.
Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts - A Complete
Dictionary of Contributors and their Work.
Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, passim.
124. For reference to Mrs Eleanor Coade see Gunnis,
Dictionary of British Sculptors, pp. 105-106.

125. For references to John De Vaere see Gunnis,
Dictionary of British Sculptors, p. 128.
126. For James Hay see Gunnis, Dictionary of British
Sculptors, p. 193.
127. Ibid.
128. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 13th November 1786,
vol. II, p. 32, regarding Charles White and Hunter.
129. Hutchison, S. C. The History of the Royal Academy
1768-1986, Robert Royce Limited, London 1986, p. 58.
130. Ibid. MSS. RA, Council Minutes, 30th December 1822.
131. For Sale Catalogues regarding anatomical
models see Russell, K. F. British Anatomy 1525-1800
A Bibliography, Melbourne University Press,
Melbourne 1963, pp. 64-97.
132. Farington, Diary, vol. II, p. 452. Wheatley and
Cunningham, London Past and Present, vol. I, p. 342.
133. Both Sheldon and Hunter experimented in embalming
and wax injecting see Power, Sir D'Arcy. Selected
Writings 1877-1930, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1931,

- p. 239. Brock, H. C. William Hunter 1718-1783
A Memoir, Glasgow University Press, Glasgow 1983,
 p. 32, ff. 20.
134. Peachey, G. C. A Memoir of William and John Hunter,
 Brendon, Plymouth 1924, pp. 28-29.
135. Ibid. pp. 25-27.
136. Tabacchi, G. (ed.), Gaetano Giulio Zumbo, Gruppo
 Editoriale, Fabbri, Sonzogno 1988.
137. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 38-39.
138. The Syllabus produced by Desnoues refers to "every
 part of the human system, as they are exactly and
 accurately shown in the anatomical wax-figures".
 The Syllabus was sold up the stairs of the grocers
 shop, Durham Yard in the Strand, where the figures
 were on show for the price of one shilling and six
 pence in 1739.
139. Peachey, William Hunter, pp. 26-28. The lectures
 advertised in the Daily Post lasted five weeks,
 three times a week, from 9.00 am to 11.00 am, and
 the anatomies in wax used by Desnoues were also those
 made by him.

140. MSS. Hunter's Lectures of Anatomy, 'Of Injections', Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.
141. Ibid.
142. Feltoe, C. L. Memorials of J. F. South, J. Murray, London 1884, p.
143. Peachey, William Hunter, p. 30.
144. Farington, Diary, vol. II, pp. 476-477.
145. Elwin, M. (ed.), Autobiography and Journals of B. R. Haydon, 1786-1846, Macdonald Illustrated Classics, London 1950, p. 82.
146. Ibid. p. 130.
147. Ibid. p. 186.
148. Ibid. p. 137.
149. Campbell, R. The London Tradesman, originally published in 1747, David and Charles Reprints, Devon 1969, p. 140.

150. Peachey, William Hunter, pp. 48-49. There is also a painting of George Romney holding a small table-table écorché which is thought to be made from rice paper. I am grateful to Dr Fiona Haslam for bringing this to my notice.
- See Whitley, Artists and Their Friends, vol. II, p. 83: "Mason Chamberlin, R.A., who died in the year in which Reynolds made use of his portrait of William Hunter, is an artist of whom we know very little. Edwards is our chief authority on the subject and he says only that Chamberlin was a clerk in a merchant's office, that he afterwards studied painting under Francis Hayman, and that he carried off one of the premiums for historical pictures offered by the Society of Arts".
- Wark, R. R. (ed.), Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses On Art, Yale University Press Ltd, London 1981, p. 193, 'Discourse XI' for reference to wax-works: "I shall only observe that the effect of figures in Wax-work, though certainly a more exact representation than can be given by Painting or Sculpture, is a sufficient proof that the pleasure we receive from imitation is not increased merely in proportion as it approaches to minute and detailed reality; we are pleased, on the contrary, by seeing ends accomplished by seemingly inadequate means. To express protuberance by actual relief, to express the softness of flesh by the softness of wax, seems rude and inartificial, and

creates no grateful surprise. But to express distances on a plain surface, softness by hard bodies, and particular colouring by materials which are not singly of that colour, produces that magick which is the prize and triumph of art".

151. See Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow for this small écorché and other figures and portraits of William Hunter. Laskey, J. Description of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University Press, Glasgow 1813, p. 48.
152. Peachey, William Hunter, pp. 43-44.
153. Ibid.
154. MSS. H46, Hunter Lecture, University of Glasgow . Special Collections, n.d.
155. MSS. H505, Hunter's Midwifery Lecture, University of Glasgow, Special Collections, 1775.
156. Ibid. Also see MSS. 10a/62, an abstract from William Hunter's lecture on the gravid uterus, 1786, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia archives.

157. MSS. H46, Hunter Lecture, University of Glasgow, Special Collections, n.d. Also see Kemp, M. Dr William Kemp at the Royal Academy of Arts, Glasgow University Press, Glasgow 1975.
158. I am grateful to the curator of the Anatomy Museum at the University of Glasgow for allowing me to photograph all the Hunter models enabling cross-reference to be made between the engraved image and the bas-relief models showing pregnancy states. As already mentioned in the chapter, only three models actually correspond with their engraved counterparts. The following casts do not have corresponding folio images: Casts 19, 12, 11, 9, 20, 8 and 10. There are a large number of finely made preparations in jars of the gravid uterus as well as a wax replica of it.
159. MSS. H505, Hunter's Midwifery Lecture, University of Glasgow, Special Collections, 1775.
160. Bailey, J. Diary of a Resurrectionist 1811-1812, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd, London 1896, p. 146. Cole, H. H. Things For The Surgeon: A History of the Resurrection Men, Heinemann, London 1964, pp. 80-81.

161. Teacher, J. Catalogue of the Anatomical and Pathological Preparations of Dr. William Hunter, Glasgow University Press, Glasgow 1970, p. liv.
Marshall, A. and Burton, J. A. G. A Catalogue of the Pathological Specimens in the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, Glasgow University Press, Glasgow 1962.
162. Ibid. For comparable truncation of torsos and limbs see Saunders, J. B. and O'Malley, C. D. The Illustrations from the Works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York 1950. Ball, J. M. Andreas Vesalius - the Reformer of Anatomy, St. Louis Medical Science Press, St. Louis 1910. Arcieri, J. P. Leonardo Da Vinci and Andreas Vesalius in Anatomical Studies, Alcmaeon Editions, New York 1965.
163. MSS. Z.10/121, p. 39, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia archives.
164. Russell, British Anatomy, p. 182. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, p. 314. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, Supplement pp. xxviii-xxix.
165. Rackstrow, B. A Descriptive Catalogue of Rackstrow's Museum Consisting of Anatomical Figures, and Real

Preparations also Figures Resembling Life, for the author, London 1782, p. 14.

166. Rackstrow's Catalogue (1782), has a number of other descriptive anatomical figures, pp. 5-23. These include pregnancy states, gravid uterus, fragmented limbs, female torsos, skeletons and some comparative anatomy showing lions as well as embalming and mummification.
167. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 49 and p. 143. Azzaroli, M. L. La Specola The Zoological Museum of Florence University, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Florence 1985.
168. Azzaroli, La Specola, passim.
169. Azzaroli-Puccetti, M. L. 'I. The Anatomical Wax Models of the Museum La Specola. II. Radiographic Analysis and Restoration', Museological Science, vol. 4, (1-2), 1987, pp. 57-75. Entrance into La Specola is by appointment only; at the present time it is closed for refurbishing. For a comparative twentieth-century making of anatomical models see Neave, R. 'Pictures in the Round: Moulage and Models in Medicine', Journal of Audiovisual Media in Medicine, 12, 1989, pp. 80-84. Neave is the artist who

currently makes the models at the Department of Anatomy, University of Manchester.

170. Ibid. For reference to other Southern Italian wax models see Mezzogiorno, V. and De Luca, B. Il Museo Anatomico Di Napoli, Di Mauro Editore, Naples 1979.
171. Hilloowala, R. and Renahan, J. 'XVIII Century Anatomical Models at La Specola, Florence', Anatomical Anz. Jena, vol. 159, 1985, pp. 141-158.
172. Azzaroli-Puccetti, 'The Anatomical Wax Models', pp. 57-75.
173. Ibid. Maria Louisa Azzaroli-Puccetti was until recently the Head Curator of the waxes at La Specola. I am grateful both to her and Marta Poggesi, Assistant Curator for their assistance with my research at La Specola.
174. Ibid. For references to the exotic and romantic philosophies of representations of life and death see Praz, M. The Romantic Agony, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1985, p. 27, Edgar Allan Poe states: "The death of a beautiful woman is, unquestionably, the most poetical topic in the world".

175. Lanza, B. Azzaroli-Puccetti, M. L. Poggesi, M. and Martelli, A. (eds), Le Cere Anatomiche Della Specola di Firenze, Arnaud Editore, Florence 1979, passim.
176. For details of Mascagni see Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 88-89.
177. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 129.
178. Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, pp. 139-140.
179. Azzaroli-Puccetti, 'The Anatomical Wax Models', pp. 57-75.
180. For Giuseppe Ferrini see Pyke, Biography of Wax Modellers, p. 46.
181. For discussions on the Wellcome figures in relation to La Specola see Richardson, L. Deer. Italian Anatomical Waxes in the Wellcome Collection: The Missing Link, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Florence 1977, pp. 281-298; this was originally a paper given at a Conference in Florence, 1977.
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April 1978. I am grateful to Linda Deer Richardson for her informative advice regarding the anatomical models. Also see Richardson, L. Deer. 'Academic Theories of Generation in the Renaissance: The Contemporaries and Successors of Jean Fernel (1497-1558)', Ph.D. thesis, Warburg Institute, University of London 1980. I am indebted to Fraser Swift for his help as Curator of the Wellcome waxes for allowing me to examine them in full. In relation to the Wellcome waxes see Hilloowala, R. 'The Origin of the Wellcome Anatomical Waxes Albinus and the Florentine Collection at La Specola', Medical History, 28, 1984, pp. 432-437. Jordanova, L. 'La Donna di Cera', Kos, 1, 4, March 1984, pp. 70-91. Also in relation to the Florentine waxes see Hilloowala, R. 'Bartolomeo Eustachio: His Influence on Albinus and the Anatomical Models, at La Specola, Florence', Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 41, 1986, pp. 442-462.

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188. Jordanova, Sexual Visions, pp. 134-135. Outram, D. The Body and the French Revolution, Sex, Class and Political Culture, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1989: "Foucault's willingness to see

bodies only as objects or symbols through which existing power relations are acted out, prevents him from writing a history in which, on the contrary, bodies are active creators of new power relations, and sustain individuals in their confrontations with and against systems of power".

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Christ reveal awareness of muscular

anatomy and Leo Steinberg's work on the

sexuality of Christ finds Christ's nudity

and pose overtly sexual with or without exposure of

genitalia, proposing "the eternal, by definition,

experiences neither death nor generation". The mortal

and human condition that Christ assumes is both "death-

bound and sexed" and according to Steinberg "the

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CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, we have been tracing three closely interwoven themes: the history of anatomical training for artists, the cultural influences on art-anatomy practices, and the visual representations and interpretations of the human body. In order to focus such complex relations, we have examined those artists and anatomists working in London during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The earlier chapters examined the structure of training for artists and medical men and the different courses, lectures, teachers and venues that were available. It is clear that in London during this period there were a number of ways in which an artist could be educated. Alongside the formal art training that could be got from attending the Royal Academy of Arts, there were numerous private sources from which to choose. With the growing number of private anatomy lectures, private drawing classes, and private dissecting rooms, it is evident that there was a need in the commercial education section for such enterprises. With the founding of the Royal Academy of Arts, art education became organised, formal and established. This is in contrast to medical education that was not as coherently organised; hence, the abundance of private anatomy schools. Consequently, it could be suggested that medical education by the end of the eighteenth century had more in common with the pre-Academy satellite schools than the Royal Academy itself. Hogarth's St. Martin's Lane academy of the

1750s can be compared to Joshua Brookes's Blenheim Street school established in 1787, and Joseph Carpue's Dean Street school founded in 1800. Within the forty and fifty years respectively, medical education had not advanced to the same extent as art education. However, as Susan Lawrence's work has shown, with the advent of organised time-tables, lecturers and syllabuses in hospital teaching, medical education was gradually becoming more cohesive. Although the medical sector did not centralise its teachings under the auspices of an 'academy', nevertheless, teaching was being undertaken at a number of the voluntary hospitals around London by eminent medical men such as John Hunter who taught at St. George's Hospital. The high quality of teaching in the hospitals, though, perhaps not as sophisticated as the Royal Academy of Arts, was the first step in organised medical education. Medical men, more than artists, however, were still reliant to some extent on the coffee-house culture for business. The increased numbers of private anatomy schools was partly due to the lack of medical education in the Universities at Oxford and Cambridge. There was no medical equivalent to the Royal Academy of Arts until the early nineteenth century when London University established its own medical curriculum. However, as Adrian Desmond has revealed, the rise of institutionalised medical education at University College London brought about the demise of the private anatomy schools. I have argued, therefore, that there was an uneven development in the organisation of art and medical education. Medical men were

still in the market place, selling their skills to the highest bidder, and alongside this was the development of organised teaching in hospitals and private schools.

Art education was increasingly controlling its own destiny and organising itself; in contrast, the professionally qualified anatomists were still trying to survive in the arena of entrepreneurship. It could even be suggested that if medical education had been more organised, like art, then many of the fruitful relations between artists and anatomists would never have taken place. Hence, the informal and incidental meetings between these two professions that often took place in coffee-houses, private anatomy classes and private museums, would never have been formed. The disjointed pattern of, on one hand, the organised Royal Academy of Arts, and the self-help entrepreneurship of the anatomists, on the other, created professional and educational harmony. This imbalance was a unifying factor.

There were many such unifying bridges linking private to public; the social to the professional; artists to anatomists; anatomical drawing to dissection; and William Hunter to the Royal Academy of Arts. As a skilful entrepreneur, William Hunter managed to balance organised public art education alongside non-formal private anatomy. The social and professional skills that Hunter had cultivated during his meteoric rise, from being the fifth surviving child born in East Kilbride to the most renowned anatomist and obstetrician in London, reveals his ability to embrace both high and low

life. However, his attraction to the Royal Academy was as a man well-respected, educated and an expert in his own field. His anatomical teachings influenced life class studies, though to call it a School of Hunter would be too restrictive. As I have shown in Chapter Two, there were many different types of artists teaching in the Royal Academy Schools, each bringing a uniquely personal style of artistic practice and methodology. Hunter was but one strand in the formal teaching of an artist. As we have seen, under Henry Fuseli's "wise neglect", some students flourished. Of particular importance was Hunter's ability to draw together the variety of medical, artistic and scientific practices. The breadth of his knowledge came from a number of sources. Hunter's value to the Academy Schools was partly due to the fact that his life outside the Royal Academy was made-up of research, medical colleagues and patients. His involvement with engravers and sculptors was not always as their mentor but as a colleague, as Chapters Four and Five have uncovered. In surveying Hunter's life at the Royal Academy it has been important to examine not only his role as teacher, but his extramural activities as anatomist, patron of the arts, and publisher.

The engraved images of female anatomies that Hunter commissioned for his Gravid Uterus treatise have seemingly little to do with life class studies. More than once he told the Academy students that his anatomical teachings to them were written with the needs of an artist in mind. His lectures, as we have seen in Chapter Three, concentrate almost exclusively

on superficial muscles, skeletal structure, bones and the circulatory system as it affects facial colouring (eg. the blush of a cheek). Most artists however, required additional knowledge of the female anatomy, enabling them to understand the physiological as well as visual differences. In his lectures to artists, Hunter omits to distinguish between male and female anatomies. For example, he refers to the padding of the muscles and skeletal structure but fails to elaborate on such differences between the sexes. I suggest that there are three reasons for the lack of female anatomies incorporated in his lectures. Firstly, he was aware that the male figure dominated life class studies and therefore realised that art students required anatomical knowledge of the male more than the female. Secondly, his own research on female anatomies was pioneering and not coherently formulated, not to the extent he would have wished to submit to artistic needs. And thirdly, he presumed that artists did not require information of female genitalia, or the internal workings of reproduction. He assumed that knowledge of unseen female organs could not affect a painter's vision of the external figure. As I have already suggested in Chapter Four: this was Hunter's vision of art, anatomy and women. Hunter took it upon himself to make such decisions regarding both his medical atlas and the contents of his lectures to artists. My argument therefore, concerning the lectures, rests with Hunter's exclusion rather than his inclusion. It appears that he made a decision based on his own judgment of what he thought an artist required. It was perhaps

this vision of what an art student needs to know that prompted his naïve and non-detailed renditions of plaster of paris models showing women in various states of pregnancy.

A parallel occurred in the nineteenth century concerning education and anatomical figures. As I have shown in Chapter Four, changes were being made both in art education and medical education in the 1830s. These changes came about partly with the rise of medical training in the London-based University and the Government Schools gradually taking over art education. Both culturally and educationally the human figure was now viewed differently. The exposed female genitalia that once adorned many of the eighteenth century medical folios was not to be found in either art schools or printed form in the nineteenth century. The enlarged sectioning of organs, female truncation and elephant-size atlases belong to the Enlightenment. Those anatomical treatises of the following century portray both male and females in the same manner; in some instances, favouring truncation of the male torso and not the female. Eugene Wolff's Anatomy for Artists, represents the male figure as fragmented, sectioned and truncated. It is concerning this type of visual truncation of the human figure that I have, in Chapters Four and Five, disagreed with Ludmilla Jordanova. I have argued that this isolating and truncation of the body was not unique to either women's anatomies, William Hunter, or the eighteenth century.

The advent of photography created yet another chasm between the eighteenth and nineteenth century art-anatomy

folios. The body was not only being interpreted differently, but new techniques such as photography helped change the look of the folios. Many of the nineteenth century treatises are a combination of free-hand drawings, engravings, mezzotints and photographs. These techniques were not unique to art-anatomy publications, for artists interested in the body, were increasingly using photography. It is known that Éugène Delacroix was one of the first to execute drawings of male and female nudes from photographs. The tradition of artists and anatomists working side-by-side in the dissecting room continued during this period, despite the different ways in which the cadaverous images were now being displayed. Christopher Lawrence has examined the social and cultural reading of photographic medical images in the nineteenth century. He has, however, examined medical situations (eg. the general practitioner with a patient), and not the art-anatomy folios which isolate the body from any contextural setting. Most of the anatomized images adorning the pages of eighteenth century atlases are devoid of any domestic or landscape setting. Male and female torsos revealing internal organs, fragmented limbs and decapitated heads are isolated on the page, without reference to anything but itself: the body. However, if we compare the eighteenth century folios to those executed in the Renaissance, differences appear concerning the context in which the body is placed. Andreas Vesalius's elephant-size treatise published in the sixteenth century places its images of the human body [male] in the context of a

landscape. Not unlike the Florentine paintings of the period, Vesalius's anatomical figures stand against a landscape showing a cityscape or nature. In this context, the body refers not only to itself, and its dissector, but to the world in which it once belonged. This is in keeping with the revival of naturalism, and in contrast to the scientific and objectified view of the body in the eighteenth century. As this thesis has argued throughout, the representation of the living body and the anatomized body, were the icons of medical and artistic practices. The body as it was represented in art-anatomy atlases was isolated, objectified and de-humanised.

The exclusion of female students from the life class, the gradual disappearance of female anatomies in medical folios, and the emergence of the classical and idealised male nude in the nineteenth century, had their foundations in a cultural exclusion of women. It was not until the 1870s with the opening of the Slade School of Art, John Marshall's crusade for life classes at the Government Schools and female students at the Royal Academy of Arts, that women artists were being recognized. Life Classes now included male and female models, both semi-clothed and nude. During the hundred year span, from the 1770s to the 1870s, numerous changes had taken place both in and out of the life class.

The elaborate, quasi-theatrical anatomy lectures that were weekly events at the Royal Academy of Arts in the eighteenth century, had no place in the Government Schools and its education for the masses. High Art, anatomy and close

interaction with the medical profession, now belonged to another era.

APPENDIX I : CHAPTER ONE

Coffee-houses frequented by artists and anatomists

Batson's Coffee-house, Cornhill
 British Coffee-house, Cockspur street
 Child's Coffee-house, St. Paul's Churchyard
 Garraway's Coffee-house, Exchange or Change Alley, Cornhill
 George's Coffee-house, 213 The Strand
 Grecian Coffee-house, Devereux Court, The Strand
 Hambleton's Coffee-house, Prince's Street, near Drury Lane
 Hoyland's Coffee-house
 Jack's Coffee-house
 London Coffee-house, Ludgate Hill
 Munday's Coffee-house, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden
 Nando's Coffee-house, Fleet-street, east corner of Inner Temple
Lane
 Percy Coffee-house
 St. James's Coffee-house, St. James Street
 Salopian Coffee-house
 Slaughter's Coffee-house, upper end of the west side of
St. Martin's Lane
 Smyrna Coffee-house, north side of Pall Mall, corner of Crown
Court
 Somerset Coffee-house, The Strand
 Squire's Coffee-house
 Tom's Coffee-house, 17 Russell Street, Covent Garden
 Turk's Head Coffee-house, 142 The Strand
 Turk's Head, Gerard Street
 York Chop House (The), Wardour Street

Taverns frequented by artists and anatomists

Bull's Head Tavern, Cheapside
 Freemason's Tavern, Great Queen Street
 Jenny's Whim Tavern (& tea garden), end of the Wooden Bridge
known as Ebury Bridge, between Chelsea and Pimlico
 King's Head Tavern, Fleet-street, the west corner of Chancery
 Mitre Tavern, St. James's Market
 Mitre Tavern, Wood Street
 Nag's Head Tavern, 39 Cheapside
 Rummer Tavern, between Whitehall and Charing Cross
 Salutation Tavern, 17 Newgate Street
 Shakespeare Tavern
 Thatched House Tavern, 75 St. James's Street

Clubs frequented by artists and anatomists

Academy Club (Royal Academy of Arts)
Almack's Club, Pall Mall
Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall
Beef Steak Club, Great George Street
Bull's Head, (Artists' Club), Clare Market
Green Ribbon Club, also called the King's Head Club, west
corner of Chancery Lane
Queen's Arms Tavern (Literary Club), St. Paul's Churchyard
Reform Club, south side of Pall Mall
Turf Club, Piccadilly, corner of Clarges Street
White's Club-House, 37 & 38 St. James's Street
Windham Club, St. James's Square

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER ONE

(also see Table I)List of residential areas and occupants

(Largest majority of professions living near to each other.
Listed in order of numbers. **between OXFORD STREET AND TOTTENHAM
COURT ROAD : its inhabitants**)

Richard CUMBERLAND	literary
James BOSWELL	literary
J. M. W. TURNER	artist
Edmund BURKE	literary
William WINDHAM	artist
Thomas DANIELL	artist
Dr. WOLCOTT (Peter Pindar)	medical
Richard WILSON	artist
Joseph WILTON	artist
John JONES	artist
William COLLINS	artist
Sir David WILKIE	artist
Joshua BROOKES	medical
E. LANDSEER	artist
William HAYLEY	artist
George ROMNEY	artist
James BARRY	artist
William BLAKE	artist
Benjamin Robert HAYDON	artist
Gavin HAMILTON	artist
Dr. BURNEY	medical
Sir William CHAMBERS	artist
Mrs THRALE	literary/socialite
James NORTHCOTE	artist
Sir Joseph BANKS	science/medical
George MORLAND	artist
Stephen Gaspar GRESSE	artist
Dr Robert GOOCH	medical
John HALL	artist
William WOOLLETT	artist
Joseph FARINGTON	artist
John CONSTABLE	artist
Richard WESTALL	artist
Dr WOOLASTON	medical

(I have no made no distinction between painter, sculptor,
engraver, architect, and likewise for the medical profession)

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER ONE (continued)

(Second largest catchment showing residents: **between COVENT GARDEN AND beyond DRURY LANE**)

John FLAXMAN	artist
John FLAXMAN, the elder	artist
Sir Astley COOPER	medical
Dr PITCAIRN	medical

(the next group all live in Great Queen Street)

Dr RADCLIFFE	medical
Thomas HUDSON	artist
Sir Godfrey KNELLER	artist
Joshua REYNOLDS	artist
Thomas WORLIDGE	artist
Sir Robert STRANGE	artist
James BASIRE	artist
William BLAKE	artist
Henry FUSELI	artist
John OPIE	artist
Richard WILSON	artist
William THEED	artist
Dr WOLCOTT (Peter Pindar)	medical

J.W. M. TURNER	artist
William HOGARTH	artist
C. R. COCKERELL	artist
James NORTHCOTE	artist
Johann ZOFFANY	artist
Lady Mary Wortley MONTAGU	artist
Thomas BANKS	artist
John BACON	artist
Benjamin WEST	artist
Thomas STOTHARD	artist
George ROMNEY	artist
VIVARES	artist
Ozias HUMPHRY	artist
William HUNT	artist

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER ONE (continued)

(between PALL MALL/WHITEHALL/ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, and THE STRAND/FLEET STREET, and PICCADILLY).

PALL MALL/WHITEHALL/ST. JAMES'S SQUARE:

J. DOUGLAS	medical
William SMOLLETT	medical
Dr ARBUTHNOT	medical
Dr SYDENHAM	medical
ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS	medical
Joseph WILTON	artist
J. B. CIPRIANI	artist
Mauritius LOWE	artist
Dr William HUNTER	medical
Dr William SMELLIE	medical
Dr DOUGLAS	medical
Sir Thomas GAINSBOROUGH	artist
Richard COSWAY	artist
Sir David WILKIE	artist
Thomas BANKS	artist
Sir John COLBATCH	medical
William BURGESS	artist
Dr John BEVIS (or Bevans)	medical
JERVAS	artist
Nathaniel HONE	artist
John ASTLEY	artist

THE STRAND and FLEET STREET

Dr John LEAKE and his Anatomy Theatre	medical
William HEWSON	medical
Dr Samuel FOTHERGILL	medical
Dr Charles WEST	medical
Sir Astley COOPER	medical
David GARRICK	literary
Dr John TURTON	medical
Dr BURNEY	literary
Sir Hans SLOANE	medical
Dr John SHADWELL	medical
William ETTY	artist
Mr LLOYD	artist
Mr STANFIELD	artist
Thomas ROWLANDSON	artist
James NORTHCOTE	artist
Oliver GOLDSMITH	literary
Paul SANDBY	artist
John MURRAY	artist
Sir Godfrey KNELLER	artist
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS (fd. Wm Shipley) ...	arts

PICCADILLY

(Appendix II:continued)

Dr William HUNTER	medical
Dr ARBUTHNOT	medical
Alexander POPE	literary
James BOSWELL	literary
Madame D'ARBLAY (Fanny Burney)	socialite
William HAZLITT	literary
Henry FUSELI	artist
Mr and Mrs SIDDONS	literary/socialites
Joshua BROOKES	medical
Francis HOWARD	artist
Richard COSWAY	artist
Sidney SMIRKE	artist
SHACKLETON	artist
Johann ZOFFANY	artist
Robert ADAM	artist
Thomas PHILLIPS	artist

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER ONE (continued)

(areas include: SOHO, LEICESTER FIELDS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE and TRAFALGAR SQUARE).

SOHO

Sir Charles BELL	medical
W. H. PICKERSGILL	artist
Sir Anthony CARLISLE	medical
Sir Joseph BANKS	science/medical
Dr WOLCOTT (Peter Pindar)	medical
Richard PAYNE KNIGHT	literary
James BARRY	artist
James BOSWELL	literary
GILLRAY	artist
Johann ZOFFANY	artist
Francis BARTOLOZZI	artist
J. T. SMITH	artist
SHERWIN	artist

LEICESTER FIELDS/LEICESTER SQUARE

Sir Hans SLOANE	medical
William AIKMAN	artist
Sir James THORNHILL	artist
William HOGARTH	artist
Theodore GARDELLE	artist
Edward FISHER	artist
Sir Joshua REYNOLDS	artist
James STUART	artist
John GWYNN	artist
John HUNTER	medical
Captain CORAM	medical
Sir Charles BELL	medical
Dr BURNEY	literary
William Cumberland CRUIKSHANK	medical

ST. MARTIN'S LANE and TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Johann ZOFFANY	artist
Sir James THORNHILL	artist
Francis HAYMAN	artist
Sir Joshua REYNOLDS	artist
L. F. ROUBILLIAC	artist
Henry FUSELI	artist
Samuel WALE	artist
F. BOURGEOIS	artist
John GWYNN	artist
James PAINE	artist

Abraham RAIMSBACH artist
 Hamo THORNYCROFT artist
 Richard PAYNE KNIGHT literary
 Slaughter's Coffee-house

BOND STREET and GROSVENOR SQUARE

Dr BAILLIE medical
 Laurence STERNE literary
 Richard WEST artist
 James BOSWELL literary
 James NORTHCOTE artist
 Sir Thomas LAWRENCE artist
 Ozias HUMPHRY artist
 Colonel BATH medical

BLOOMSBURY

Richard COSWAY artist
 Dr Richard MEAD medical
 John ABERNETHY medical
 Dr Anthony ASKEW medical
 Dr STUKELEY medical
 Dr Charles BURNEY literary
 John CONSTABLE artist
 Ignatius SANCHO artist
 William SHARP artist
 Edmund BURKE artist
 John HOPPNER artist
 George DANCE artist
 William HILTON artist
 Mrs SIDDONS literary/socialite
 John OPIE artist
 James BARRY artist

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER ONE (continued)

(areas include: MARYLEBONE, MORNINGTON CRESCENT, MAIDA VALE/EDGWARE, PADDINGTON, KENTISH TOWN, ST. JOHN'S WOOD)

MARYLEBONE

Richard WILSON	artist
P. J. LOUTHERBOURG	artist
Joseph BONOMI	artist
James BARRY	artist
Edmund BURKE	literary
William COLLINS	artist
Benjamin Robert HAYDON	artist
C. R. LESLIE	artist
William HOGARTH	artist

MORNINGTON CRESCENT

F. R. PICKERSGILL	artist
George CRUIKSHANK	artist

MAIDA VALE / EDGWARE ROAD

C. R. LESLIE	artist
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PADDINGTON

George BARRETT	artist
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KENTISH TOWN

Charles GRIGNION	artist
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ST. JOHN'S WOOD

Sir Edwin LANDSEER	artist
Charles LANDSEER	artist
John JACKSON	artist
Thomas LANDSEER	artist

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER ONE (continued)

(areas include: 'CITY' (TEMPLE), ISLINGTON, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, ST. PAUL'S) These are grouped together as a Catchment area.

'CITY' (TEMPLE)

Dr Richard MEAD	medical
Oliver GOLDSMITH	literary
Thomas UNWINS	artist

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

Henry CLINE	medical
Joseph Henry GREEN	medical
ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS' of ENGLAND	
SIR JOHN SOANE'S MUSEUM	

ST. PAUL'S

G. E. STREET	artist
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Individual areas: CHELSEA, GOLDEN SQUARE

CHELSEA

William FINDEN	artist
J. M. W. TURNER	artist
Daniel MACLISE	artist

GOLDEN SQUARE

Angelica KAUFFMANN	artist
CANALETTO	artist

Public Seal
 £0. 5. 0
 Paid 1/1/2

This is to Certify that

*Mr Thomas Hunter /B/ now an
 Assistant Surgeon of the Royal Navy
 has been duly examined and found qualified
 to serve as **SURGEON** on board any of
 His Majesty's Ships.*

*Given under our hands at the
 Victualling Office London this
 1st day of July 1829.*

J. W. W. W.

J. W. W.

Certificate qualifying
 Thomas Hunter to act as Naval
 Surgeon, dated 1833.

Appendix IV : Chapter One.

APPENDIX I : CHAPTER TWO

List of Royal Academy PREMIUMS given to students,
between 1769 and 1810.

1769	Painting & Sketches GOLD.	Mauritius Lowe, 'Time Discovering Truth'
1769	Sculpture & Sketches GOLD.	John Bacon, 'Aeneas escaping from Troy'
1769	Drawings SILVER. Academy Figure	John Kitchingham Joseph Strutt Matthew Liart John Grassi
"	" Models [bas relief]	P.M. van Gelder John Flaxman
1770	Painting & Sketches GOLD.	Joseph Strutt
1770	Drawings SILVER. Academy Figure	C.R. Ryley T. Clarke J. Sanders J. Milbourne J. Rupell P. Pracner
"	" Models	
1771	Painting & Sketches GOLD.	Wm Bell
1771	Drawings SILVER. Academy Figure	A. Toussaint J.K. Sherwin G. Farington D. Gardener C. Banks T. Englesheart
"	" Models	
1772	Painting & Sketches GOLD.	J. K. Sherwin
1772	Sculpture & Sketches GOLD.	T. Engleheart
1772	Drawings SILVER. Academy Figure	C. Shirreff W. Griffin J. Howes J. Lochee
"	" Models	
1773	[nothing entered in register] GOLD.	
1773	Drawings SILVER. Academy Figure	B. Bowring
"	" Models	S. Atken
1774	Painting GOLD.	J. Jeffreys
1774	Sculpture GOLD.	C. Banks
1774	Drawings SILVER. Academy Figure	B. Vandergucht R. Radcliff H. Webber
"	" Models	
1775	[nothing entered in register] GOLD.	
1775	Drawing. SILVER. Academy Figure	T. Stephanoff
"	" Model	W. Higgins

1776	Painting GOLD.	C. Grignion
1776	Sculpture. GOLD.	H. Webber
1776	Drawings. SILVER.	W. Hunneman
"	Academy Figure	G. Bartolozzi
"	" Models	C. Wepell
1777	[nothing entered in register] GOLD.	
1777	Drawings. SILVER.	P.W. Tomkins
"	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	T. Rowlandson
1778	Painting. GOLD.	C.R. Ryley
1778	Sculpture. GOLD.	J. Hickey
1778	Drawings. SILVER.	A.W. Devis
"	Academy Figure	J. Cook
"	" Models	J. Hoppner
"	" Models	J. Wright
1779	[nothing entered in register] GOLD.	
1779	Drawings. SILVER.	T. Freeman
"	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	J. Cook
1780	Painting. GOLD.	G. Farington
1780	Sculpture. GOLD.	J. Deare
1780	Drawings. SILVER.	E.F. Burney
"	Academy Figure	C.M. Metz
"	" Models	C. Borckhardt
"	" Models	J.H. Green
1781	[nothing entered in register] GOLD.	
1781	Drawings. SILVER.	P. Holland
"	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	C. Rossi
1782	Painting. GOLD.	J. Hoppner
1782	Sculpture. GOLD.	C. Peart
1782	Drawings. SILVER.	J.H. Benwell
"	Academy Figure	J. Hoppner
"	" Models	T. Proctor
"	" Models	W. Braithwaite
"	" Models	R. Santler
1783	[nothing entered in register] GOLD.	
1783	Drawing. SILVER.	W. Artaud
"	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	T. Proctor
1784	Painting. GOLD.	T. Proctor
1784	Sculpture SILVER.	C. Rossi
1784	Drawings. SILVER.	H. Singleton
"	Academy Figure	A. Monie
"	" Models	J.H. Ramburg
"	" Models	C.H. Hodges

"	" Models	J. Alefounder C. Horwell
1785	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1785	Drawings. SILVER.	W. Palmer
"	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	P.F. Chenu
1786	Painting. GOLD.	W. Artaud
1786	Sculpture. GOLD.	P.F. Chenu
1786	Drawing. SILVER.	H. Elwes
	Academy Figure	P. Bettolini H. Edridge
1787	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1787	Drawings. SILVER.	J. Conde
1788	Painting. GOLD.	H. Singleton
1788	Sculpture. GOLD.	C. Horwell
1788	Drawings. SILVER.	T. Thompson
	Academy Figure	T. Stewart L.J. Cope A. van Assen
1789	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1789	Drawings. SILVER.	J. Allen
"	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	C. Taconet
1790	Painting. GOLD.	H. Howard
1790	Sculpture. GOLD.	C. Taconet
1790	Drawings. SILVER.	H. Howard
	Academy Figure	G. Shepheard H. Chalon
1791	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1791	Drawings. SILVER.	T. Hellyer
	Academy Figure	
1792	Painting. GOLD.	G.F. Joseph
1792	Sculpture. [no candidate]	
1792	Drawings. SILVER.	[22 academy figures voted out]
"	" Models	J. Conde
1793	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1793	Drawings. SILVER.	J. Durand
"	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	J. Bacon
1794	Painting. GOLD.	[no name give]
1794	Sculpture. GOLD.	J. Bacon, jnr.
1794	Drawings. SILVER.	A. Cardon
	Academy Figure	J.J. Masquerier

		S.F. Rigaud
"	" Models	G.A. Keman
		A. Goblet
1795	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1795	Drawings. SILVER.	J.J. Barber
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	E. Coffin
1796	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1796	Drawings. SILVER.	T. Arrowsmith
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	W. Edwards
1797	Painting. GOLD.	[no name given]
1797	Sculpture. GOLD.	J. Smith
1797	Drawings. SILVER.	[no name given]
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	C. Manning
1798	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1798	Drawings. SILVER.	J. Agar
	Academy Figure	J.J. Halls
1799	Painting. GOLD.	R. Smirke
1799	Drawings. SILVER.	W. Findlater
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	P. Turnerelli
1800	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1800	Drawings. SILVER.	D. Riviere
	Academy Figure	
1801	Painting. GOLD.	S.F. Rigaud
1801	Drawings. SILVER.	R.A. Watte
	Academy Figure	H.T.H. Murton
1802	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1802	Drawings. SILVER.	M.C. Wyatt
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	H. Hopper
1803	Painting. GOLD.	G. Dawe
1803	Sculpture. GOLD.	H. Hopper
1803	[nothing entered in register]	SILVER.
1804	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1804	Drawings. SILVER.	W. Tallemach
	Academy Figure	
1805	Painting. GOLD.	T.D. Guest
1805	Sculpture. GOLD.	W. Tallemach
1805	Drawings. SILVER.	L. Hoppner
	Academy Figure	J. Noel

"	" Models	R. Tomlinson J.G. Bubb
1806	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1806	Drawings. SILVER.	W. Mulready
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	J. Gott
1807	Painting. GOLD.	L. Hoppner
1807	Sculpture. GOLD.	[no name given]
1807	Drawings. SILVER.	H.D. Thielcke
	Academy Figure	J. Linnell
		H. Corbould
"	" Models	J. Buxton
1808	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1808	Drawings. SILVER.	G. Lukin
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	W. Cramphorn
1809	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1809	Drawings. SILVER.	G.G. Lecount
	Academy Figure	W. Collins
		A. Perigal
"	" Models	E.H. Baily
		J. Kendrick
1810	[nothing entered in register]	GOLD.
1810	Drawings. SILVER.	W.C. Ross
	Academy Figure	
"	" Models	J. Linnell

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER TWO

LIFE REGISTER STUDENTS (first date of signature).

NAME OF STUDENT	DATE OF LIFE CLASS	DATE ENTERED R.A.
J. Williams	21 July 1790	1769
T. Arrowsmith	"	1788
T. Braine	"	1788
T. Thompson	24 July 1790	1779
J. Godefroy	"	1789
H. Howard	28 July 1790	1788
H. Chalon	3 August 1790	1788
J. Allen	30 September 1790	1787
J. Godby	"	1777
J. Basire	"	1788
W. Bond	"	1783
W. Wood	"	1785
L. Cope	"	-
G. Shepheard	"	1786
R. Muller	1 October 1790	1788
T. Stewart	"	1782
P. Mequignon	"	1788
W. Theed	"	1786
H. Singleton	"	1783
C. Horwell	"	-
	2 October 1790	
	[no new names]	
C. Hayter	4 October 1790	1786
W.W.Porter	"	1791
P. Rouw	"	1788
J. Yeatherd	7 October 1790	1788
J. Bond	"	1783
G.F. Joseph	8 October 1790	1784
W. Lindley	9 October 1790	-
R. Saunders	11 October 1790	1793
J. Borgnis	18 October 1790	1786
J. Hoppner	21 October 1790	1775
E. Coffin	22 October 1790	1785
T. Roberts	23 October 1790	1790
H. Burch	"	1779
A. Tendi	30 October 1790	1790
W. Artaud	"	1778
'Banks Visitor'	1 November 1790	
W. Alexander	"	1784
J. Hogg	5 November 1790	1779
J. Morgan	8 November 1790	-
W. Willliams	9 November 1790	-
P. Conde	11 November 1790	1788
J. Barney	12 November 1790	1771
T. Maynard	12 November 1790	1772

A. van Assen	15 November 1790	1783
C. Metz	19 November 1790	1772
Rossetti	20 November 1790	1789
J. Freeman	"	1776
C. Sherrif	22 November 1790	1769
T. Proctor	26 November 1790	1777
T. Parkinson	27 November 1790	1772
J. Conde	4 December 1790	1787
F. Legat	6 December 1790	1783
'Mr Wale'	10 December 1790	
H. Edridge	14 December 1790	1784
W. Naish	20 December 1790	1788
R. Batty	7 February 1791	-
E.F. Burney	18 February 1791	1777
J. Hellyer	21 February 1791	1790
R. Field	"	1790
T. Hargreaves	22 February 1791	1790
M. Shee	23 February 1791	1790
J. Fairbone	"	1790
J. Schnebbly	25 February 1791	-
T. Westmacott	10 March 1791	1797
R. Bosworth	"	1790
E. Gyfford	"	1789
H. Thomson	"	1790
P. Ogier	"	1789
R. Duppa	17 December 1791	1791
J. Leclerc	"	1788
A.J. Oliver	"	1790
W. Chalmers	19 December 1791	1791
W. Chamberlain	18 June 1792	1790
S. Medley	22 June 1792	1791
W. Turner	25 June 1792	1791
J. Russell	3 July 1792	1770
W. Dixon	10 July 1792	1789
T. Kearsley	13 July 1792	1790
J. Perry	17 July 1792	1791
J. Miron	19 July 1792	-
G. Chinnery	15 August 1792	1792
R.K. Porter	"	1791
T. Trotter	1 October 1792	1779
C. Cranmer	"	1791
H. Richter	2 October 1792	1790
R. Freebairn	6 October 1792	1782
A. Pugin	10 October 1792	1792
A. Scott	12 October 1792	1790
S. Godby	16 October 1792	-
A. Cardon	22 October 1792	1792
T. Phillips	2 November 1792	1791
J. Bacon jnr.	12 November 1792	1788
J.H. Green	19 November 1792	1774
J.P. Elven	22 November 1792	1791
J. Durant	10 December 1792	1791
W. Bradley	11 January 1793	-
S. Woodforde	16 January 1793	1782

C. Brome	17 January 1793	1790
T. Bacon	22 January 1793	1788
G. Dawe	11 February 1793	1794
	[reinstated 1801]	
T. Masquerier	12 February 1793	1792
J. Jeremie	27 February 1793	1792
E. Noble	26 March 1793	1792
S.F. Rigaud	24 June 1793	1792
G.A. Keman	15 July 1793	1793
J. Immanuel	25 July 1793	1792
T. Clarke	20 August 1793	1793
J. Cox	30 September 1793	1787
J. Cristall	8 October 1793	1792
W. Owen	12 October 1793	1791
A. Taylor	28 October 1793	1775
J. Burden	30 October 1793	1793
D. Pellegrini	6 November 1793	1793
J. Bradley	13 November 1793	1781
L.A. Goblet	18 November 1793	1791
T. Engleheart	11 December 1793	1769
P. Carey	7 January 1794	1792
S.N. Summers	21 January 1794	1793
E. Parks	17 February 1794	1792
W. Carr	13 August 1794	1784
J. Stevens	10 October 1794	-
J. Allen	18 November 1794	1787
H. DeBruyn	29 November 1794	1792
F. Countre	1 December 1794	1792
R.M. Satchwell	9 December 1794	1792
W. Hobday	16 December 1794	1790
[no new names entered for twelve months]		
D. Morris	4 December 1795	1794
T. Dechezal	"	1795
C. Turner	"	1795
L. Dupretay	"	1795
W. Delamotte	"	1794
J. Smith	"	1795
R. Barnes	"	1793
J. Bull	"	1795
C.N. Heydon	"	1794
R. Syer	"	1794
C. Mannings	"	1794
G. Smith	"	1794
J. Gisborne	5 December 1795	1792
G. Dance	7 December 1795	-
P. Chenu	8 December 1795	1784
J. S. Agar	9 December 1795	1792
W. Edwards	10 December 1795	1794
J. Chesham	16 December 1795	-
J. Flight	22 March 1796	1794
A. Taylor	12 August 1796	1775
D. Riviere	18 February 1799	1796
J. Cawse	"	1798
E. Dorrell	"	1797

J.R. Smith jnr	"	1797
J. DeCort	"	1799
J. Burrows	"	1792
C. Allingham	"	1797
W. Findlater	"	1795
J. Dadley	"	1797
J. Stump	"	1796
J.J. Halls	19 February 1799	1798
A. Raimbach	"	1797
W. Browne	"	1797
J. Lewis	"	1798
W. Evans	"	1790
R. Watson	"	1775
J. Corbett	"	1798
R. Smirke	20 February 1799	1796
S. Murton	"	1794
M.W. Sharpe	"	1797
G.F. Pidgeon	21 February 1799	1798
T. Park	"	1780
T. N. Meyer	"	1797
W. Ewart	"	-
J. Noel	22 February 1799	1798
J. Harrison	23 February 1799	1798
W. Walker	25 February 1799	1797
C.H. Picart	"	1796
W. M. Turner	5 August 1799	1789
P. Turnerelli	30 September 1799	1794
T. Cairne	18 October 1799	-
R. Jones	[no month given] 1800	1797
T. Taylor	"	1793
A.C. Pugin	"	1792
A. Watte	"	1797
R. Tomlinson	"	1798
M. Haughton	"	1795
M. C. Wyatt	[no month given] 1801	1801 Dec
R. Meares	"	1800
W. Miller	"	1801 Feb
R. Coomes	"	1799
H. Hopper	"	1801 Feb

APPENDIX III : CHAPTER TWO

PROBATIONERS TO STUDENTS [Royal Academy Schools]

[* denotes signatures in Life Academy registers]

NAME	ENTERED AS PROBATIONER	OBT'D TICKET	RECOMMENDED BY
Anson, Ed.	6.3.1791	31.12.1791	Jupp
Agar, J.	25.10.1792	31.12.1792	-
Atkinson, W.	20.6.1796	16.7.1796	Wyatt
*Allingham, C.	10.1.1797	12.8.1797	-
Anderson, J.	25.1.1797	26.8.1797	Hoppner
Aitken, E.	25.6.1801	2.7.1801	Hoppner
Allston, W.	3.10.1801	23.10.1801	West
Adron, T.	4.10.1802	-	Rossi
Allen, W.	18.4.1803	-	Rossi
Barrow, T.	19.9.1790	19.11.1790	-
Boydell, J.	30.9.1790	'disappeared'	Boydell
Barrat, P.	5.10.1790	"	Barry
Bowring, J.	9.11.1790	"	-
Barker, T.	7.12.1791	"	Wyatt
*Barber, J.	Jan 1791	14.10.1791	Farington
Burnell, B.	Aug 1791	14.10.1791	Vardy
Blogg, W.	Sept 1791	14.10.1791	Wyatt
*Burrows, J.	Jan 1791	3.11.1792	-
Barnes, R.J.	9.7.1792	29.11.1793	Wilton
Baynes, J.	10.10.1792	29.11.1793	Northcote
*Burden, J.	10.10.1792	22.3.1793	-
*Bull, J.	27.7.1794	20.3.1795	Barralet
Bristow, J.J.	16.8.1794	10.10.1794	Leroux
*Bone, H.P.	27.2.1796	12.3.1796	Hoppner
Barker, H.	28.6.1795	'disappeared'	Wilton
Burford, J.	3.7.1795	"	-
Boydell, W.	21.7.1795	"	Hamilton
Brown, H.	2.8.1796	3.10.1796	Humfry
*Browne, W.	17.8.1797	26.8.1797	Nollekens
Brix, R.	1.7.1797	3.2.1798	Lawrence
Barker, J.	10.7.1797	3.2.1798	Garvey
Brown, J.	8.11.1798	21.6.1800	Browne
Bryant, J.	9.11.1798	'disappeared'	Laporte
*Bond, J.L.	9.10.1798	"	-
*Brome, C.	9.10.1798	"	-
Burney, E.F.	Nov 1798	"	-
Brocksby, W.	5.3.1799	-	-
Bennett, J.D.	5.3.1799	-	Westall
Brown, H.	Aug 1800	23.10.1800	Browne
Baxter, T.	14.8.1800	23.10.1800	Nollekens
Bubb, J.G.	2.10.1800	28.2.1801	Rossi
Bate, M.N.	3.2.1801	2.7.1801	Shee

Bone, P.J.	6.3.1802	-	Shee
Buxton, J.	4.10.1802	-	Rossi
Bumford, E.	20.11.1802	-	West
Barlin,	-	-	-
Busby, C.	15.7.1803	-	Mr Alexander
Cloud, J.	-	19.11.1790	-
Cheesman, T.	-	19.11.1790	Bartolozzi
*Cranmer, C.	-	18.2.1791	Wilton
Chalmers, W.	-	31.12.1791	-
Carey, P.	8.12.1791	27.3.1792	Farington
Coffe, W.	8.8.1792	3.11.1792	Rossi
Countre, F.	Jan 1792	11.10.1793	-
Cramer, R.	26.8.1792	'disappeared'	Barry
Chinnery, G.	Jan 1791	6.7.1792	-
Cardon, A.	Oct 1791	3.11.1792	Wilton
Cristall, J.	Jan 1791	3.11.1792	-
Clarke, T.	March 1791	22.3.1793	-
Coxe,	9.10.1793	'disappeared'	-
Chenill, R.	20.2.1794	31.12.1794	Nollekens
Crosse, R.	24.6.1794	10.10.1794	Cosway
Cuming, R.	24.6.1794	10.10.1794	Laporte
Cuming, J.B.	28.6.1794	'disappeared'	Laporte
Cawthorne, J.	18.2.1795	"	Westall
Christopher,	1.10.1795	"	Rossi
Chalon, J.J.	20.6.1796	3.10.1796	Rigaud
Clase, C.	24.6.1796	30.10.1796	Northcote
*Cawse, J.	24.6.1796	31.12.1798	Northcote
Chalon, A.E.	24.1.1797	12.8.1797	Banks
O'Coglan, J.	24.1.1797	12.8.1797	Rigaud
Chawner,	July 1797	12.8.1797	Wyatt
Callcott, A.W.	29.11.1797	30.12.1797	Hoppner
Celli, A.	Jan 1790	'honorary'	West
Cockburn, R.	4.3.1797	26.8.1797	Lawrence
Cohen, S.	7.3.1797	3.2.1798	Edwards
Cleve, F.	4.10.1797	-	Wilton
Corbett, J.	24.10.1797	3.2.1798	Barry
*Coomes, R.	3.7.1798	2.2.1799	Opie
Cardon, P.	14.12.1798	-	Cosway
Constable, J.	4.3.1799	21.6.1800	Farington
Cook, R.	25.2.1800	21.6.1800	Smirke
Cooke, R.	19.3.1801	-	Opie
Coslet, R.	28.1.1802	12.11.1802	-
Corbould, H.	17.11.1802	-	Heath
Chantrey, F.	24.11.1802	-	Banks
Clover, J.	11.1.1802	-	Opie
Demaria, J.	10.12.1769	'disappeared'	Barry
*DeLamotte	9.1.1794	13.3.1794	West
Decharal, A.	22.9.1794	28.3.1795	Nollekens
Dufretay, F.	27.11.1794	20.3.1795	Mosnier
Dadley, J.	6.12.1794	12.8.1797	Barry
*Dawe, G.	6.12.1794	24.7.1795	Wilton
Davignaud, A.	16.10.1795	'disappeared'	Mosnier

Dixon, J.	3.3.1796	16.7.1796	Wyatt
*Dorrell, E.	13.7.1796	12.8.1797	Barry
Dukaut, A.	21.1.1797	'disappeared'	Marchant
De Koster, S.	28.6.1797	12.8.1797	Banks
*De Cort, J.F.	4.10.1797	2.2.1799	West
Dearn, T.	July 1798	14.12.1798	Wilton
Downs, W.	July 1798	14.12.1798	Wilton
Daniell, W.	15.10.1798	2.2.1799	Richards
*Dixon, W.	4.2.1801	2.7.1801	Rossi
Davis, R.B.	15.1.1802	-	S.F. Bourgeois
De Koningh, L.	10.1.1803	-	Farington
Daniell, S.	15.8.1803	-	Mr Daniell
*Evans, W.	'disappeared'	19.11.1790	Mr Major
*Eleven, J.P.	"	18.2.1791	-
Evans, S.	2.10.1793	29.11.1793	Mr Major
Edwards, W.	20.2.1793	20.3.1795	Banks
Engleheart, W.	14.7.1798	14.12.1798	G. Engelheart
*Engleheart, J.D.	8.1.1799	21.6.1800	G. Engelheart
Ellis, J.F.	24.10.1799	21.6.1800	A. Boydell
Elmes, J.	Aug 1803	-	Dance
*Field, R.	Nov 1790	19.11.1790	-
Farquhar, C.	Sept 1791	14.10.1791	-
*Flight, J.	1.10.1793	10.10.1794	-
Fontaine, G.	14.1.1794	20.3.1795	Catton
Flagate, R.	1.7.1794	'disappeared'	Northcote
Fortin, J.	21.10.1794	"	Nollekens
*Findlater, W.	20.6.1795	3.10.1795	Bacon
Fergus, R.	27.10.1798	'recommended'	P. Sandby
*Green, J.	Nov 1790	18.2.1791	Rigaud
*Gisborn, J.	June 1791	3.11.1792	Major
*Goblet, A.	Nov 1791	31.12.1792	Nollekens
Grieve, J.	10.10.1793	7.2.1794	Northcote
Goodman, J.	3.10.1796	'disappeared'	Stothard
Gandy, M.	July 1796	3.10.1796	Wilton
Grubb, G.	16.7.1798	'disappeared'	Rooker
Grant, J.	3.11.1800	-	Humphry
Gwilt, J.	Oct 1800	3.2.1801	-
Guest, D.	July 1801	23.2.1801	Wilton
Gainsford, F.	19.10.1802	-	Richards
Hardy, C.	25.11.1800	-	Beechey
Horne, W.	21.1.1802	-	Fuseli
Hand, R.	27.1.1802	-	Humphry
Heard, W.	28.6.1802	-	Rigaud
Hastings, E.	24.7.1802	12.11.1802	West
Hammond, J.	19.10.1802	-	Bourgeois
Hardy, J.	16.11.1802	-	Opie
Heath, C.	17.11.1802	-	Heath

*Immanuel, J.	1791	3.11.1792	Hamilton
Ingall, J.	13.6.1798	13.3.1794	Wilton
Ireton, S.	8.11.1798	discontinued	Edwards
Jayer, C.	6.10.1790	'disappeared'	Opie
Jennings, S.	-	19.10.1790	Northcote
Jackson, J.K.	2.7.1791	15.7.1791	Vardy
Jukes, J.	1790	14.10.1791	Stubbs
*Jeremie, J.	1791	3.11.1792	Cosway
Jameson, A.	Nov. 1794	'disappeared 1797'	Northcote
Johnson, W.	12.11.1793	10.10.1794	Edwards
*Jones, R.	9.11.1797	30.12.1797	Stothard
Jones, G.	19.2.1801	23.10.1801	Edwards
Jones, R.	19.8.1802	-	Lawrence
Jones, W.	4.10.1803	-	Northcote
*Keman, G.A.	Jan 1793	23.3.1793	Wilton
Kirkby, T.	12.11.1794	20.3.1793	Beechey
Keating, G.	8.12.1796	30.12.1797	Lawrence
Lege, G.	7.12.1792	'disappeared'	Nollekens
Lycett,	5.2.1793	"	Northcote
Lesley, C.	5.2.1792	31.12.1792	Hamilton
Leschallas, J.	9.10.1793	29.11.1793	Rigaud
Lecompte,	2.3.1794	'disappeared'	Bartolozzi
Lejeune, C.	6.7.1796	12.8.1797	Bonomi
Laxton, W.R.	5.7.1796	12.8.1797	Wyatt
*Lewis, F.	3.10.1796	12.8.1797	Wilton
Lea, W.	4.10.1796	31.12.1797	Westall
Lavendon, L.	20.10.1796	5.11.1796	Fuseli
Lovell, W.	28.11.1797	'disappeared'	Opie
Lawford, T.	3.7.1798	14.12.1798	Rigaud
Lewis, J.	3.10.1798	14.12.1798	Northcote
Lochner, W.	Feb 1798	21.6.1800	Lewis
Lane, S.	15.1.1799	21.6.1800	Farington
Lonsdale, J.	24.7.1801	23.10.1801	Nollekens
Lambelet, H.	5.11.1801	23.12.1801	Zoffany
Lee, J.	20.7.1802	-	West
Lane, J.	2.8.1803	-	Northcote
Le Blond, R.	2.8.1803	-	E. Edwards
Mowson, J.	30.9.1790	'disappeared'	-
Malcolm, J.	30.11.1790	"	-
*Murton, T.	16.8.1793	13.3.1794	Wilton
Murphy, J.	'disappeared'	11.4.1793	Stubbs
Medly, J.	-	14.10.1790	-
Macdonnell, J.	11.10.1793	29.11.1793	Wyatt
Mulholland, J.	1.12.1791	31.12.1791	Wyatt
Moore, A.	4.12.1792	31.12.1792	Jupp
Monk, S.	1.11.1793	28.3.1795	West
*Morris, D.	9.1.1794	13.3.1794	West
*Masquerier, J.	Oct 1791	31.12.1792	Wilton
Mitan, J.	Oct 1792	22.3.1793	Wilton
*Manning, C.	5.2.1794	31.12.1794	Bacon

Minasi, J.	Jan 1793	31.12.1794	Bartolozzi
Meyer, F.	March 1795	20.3.1795	G. Dance
Mitchell, G.	26.8.1795	3.10.1795	Banks
*Meyer, J.H.	4.10.1796	21.10.1797	Hoppner
Maddox, W.	19.11.1796	30.12.1797	Westall
Miller, J.	'disappeared'	14.12.1790	Stothard
Moussaye, L.	March 1800	21.6.1800	Wilton
*Meares, R.	Aug 1800	23.10.1800	Stothard
Mulready, W.	June 1800	23.10.1800	Banks
Morgan, J.	Oct 1800	-	Hoppner
*Miller, W.	Jan 1800	3.2.1801	Richards
Merrati, A.	-	-	Nollekens
Moses, H.	16.11.1802	-	Collyar
Medland, W.	15.8.1805	-	Mr Daniell
Nugent, T.	Sept 1789	13.8.1790	Major
*Naish, J.	" 1790	18.2.1791	Farington
*Noble, E.	Aug 1791	3.11.1792	Wilton
*Noel, J.	19.11.1797	14.12.1798	Rigaud
Neill, H.	26.6.1800	-	Opie
Naish, F.	Aug 1800	3.2.1801	Malton
Noel, J.B.	14.12.1801	-	Northcote
*Owen, W.	Sept 1790	14.10.1791	Northcote
Orme, E.	30.9.1793	29.11.1793	Bartolozzi
O'Coglan,	9.12.1795	12.8.1797	Rigaud
Oberlin, J,	9.11.1795	'disappeared'	Bacon
*Porter, R.K.	Sept 1790	18.12.1791	-
*Phillips, T.	" "	"	-
*Perry, J.	" "	15.7.1791	-
Phillips, J.	Oct 1790	14.10.1791	-
*Porter, W.	Jan 1791	31.12.1791	Wilton
*Pugin, A.C.	Sept 1791	27.3.1792	Wilton
Pearce, W.	Jan 1792	31.12.1792	West
Parks, E.	-	"	-
Platt, W.	-	"	-
Place, G.	'disappeared'	"	-
*Perez, A.	30.9.1793	18.10.1793	Rigaud
*Pellegrini, D.	3.10.1793	18.10.1793	West
Peckham, R.	10.3.1794	20.3.1795	Brettingham
Pastorini, J.	16.10.1794	1.4.1795	Rigaud
*Picart, C.H.	5.10.1795	19.3.1796	Stothard
*Pigeon, G.	5.12.1797	11.7.1798	P. Sandby
Platt, S.	27.6.1797	24.10.1798	Bigg
Platworth, J.	May 1798	14.12.1798	Wilton
Pocock, W.	8.8.1801	23.10.1801	Wilton
Pugh, J.	1.12.1801	-	Bartolozzi
Perigal, A.	12.10.1802	-	West
Pye, C.	7.12.1802	-	-
Quinton, G.	6.10.1797	23.10.1797	A. Boydell

Roberts, T.P.	Sept 1790	18.2.1791	Vardy
Rivers, C.	16.11.1791	'disappeared'	-
*Richter, H.	-	19.11.1790	Wilton
*Russell, J.J.	-	18.12.1791	-
*Rigaud, S.F.	-	27.3.1792	Rigaud, snr
Rose, W.	11.10.1793	18.10.1793	Chambers
Rouw, H.	11.3.1794	10.10.1794	Burch
Ruysen, J.	11.3.1794	'disappeared'	Nollekens
Renton, J.	"	"	"
*Riviere, D.	5.12.1795	5.11.1796	Penneck
Robertson, C.J.	10.1.1797	21.10.1797	Nollekens
Robinson, J.	13.7.1796	11.11.1797	Boydell
Robertson, W.	'discontinued'	21.10.1797	West
Roffe, R.	15.11.1797	'disappeared'	Bacon
Rowlinson, J.	29.7.1798	'disappeared'	Wilton
*Raimbach, A.	4.10.1796	12.8.1797	E. Edwards
Reeks, R.	21.10.1799	'disappeared'	Nollekens
Robinson, P.F.	June 1796	14.12.1798	Jupp
Robertson, W.	19.6.1799	'discontinued'	Moore
*Ramsay, J.	Feb 1800	21.6.1800	Smirke
Reeve, R.	10.10.1800	3.2.1801	Farington
Robertson, A.	1.7.1801	23.10.1801	Northcote
Roberts, D.	17.11.1801	-	Banks
Read, W.	4.12.1801	-	Bartolozzi
*Roupell, R.	28.6.1801	12.11.1802	Shee
*Ramsay, J.	-	-	Northcote
*Shée, M.	Sept 1790	19.11.1790	Barry
*Scott, M.	- 1790	15.7.1791	-
*Satchwell, R.W.	- 1790	31.12.1792	-
*Saunders, R.	- 1792	22.3.1793	-
*Smith, G.	2.3.1792	7.2.1794	Wilton
Stevinson, T.H.	5.10.1792	'disappeared'	Collier
*Summers, S.N.	25.1.1793	18.10.1793	Northcote
*Syer, R.	9.8.1793	7.2.1794	Wheatley
Seneshal, A.	27.2.1794	20.3.1795	Copley
Sherlock, W.	20.10.1794	31.12.1794	Nollekens
Somerfield, J.	24.11.1794	'disappeared'	Bartolozzi
Shipster, R.	26.11.1794	'disappeared'	Bartolozzi
*Smith, J.	27.11.1794	28.3.1795	-
Smith, B.	20.11.1794	12.8.1797	Northcote
Sutton, J.	21.10.1795	16.7.1796	Wilton
Sheraton, T.	13.8.1795	'disappeared'	Smirke
Stone, T.	6.2.1796	"	West
*Stump, S.J.	13.1.1796	3.10.1796	-
*Smirke, R.	20.6.1796	16.7.1796	Smirke
*Smirke, R.	27.6.1796	"	"
Sillett, J.	21.11.1796	'disappeared'	G. Dance
Strutt, W.T.	24.1.1797	"	West
*Smith, J.R.	14.2.1797	11.11.1797	Westall
*Sharpe, M.W.	3.8.1797	21.10.1797	Beechey
Simon,	12.10.1797	'disappeared'	Northcote
Slann, R.	28.11.1797	20.1.1798	Stothard
Salt, H.	18.10.1798	21.6.1800	Farington

Simpsin, T.	14.11.1798	'discontinued'	Westall
*Savage, T.	20.11.1798	14.12.1798	Malton
Scott, J.	Jan 1799	2.2.1799	Stothard
Stephanoff, J.	11.7.1800	28.2.1801	Zoffany
Simpson, J.	14.7.1800	23.10.1800	Northcote
Sawyer, R.	July 1800	20.3.1802	West
Stephanoff, P.	3.6.1801	3.12.1801	Zoffany
Smith, G.	12.10.1801	3.12.1801	Brettingham
Stewart, D.	15.1.1802	-	-
Smith, E.	12.1.1802	-	-
Slater, J.	26.9.1802	-	Flaxman
Sass, H.	17.8.1803	-	Northcote
Stringer, J.	Aug 1803	-	Wyatt
Schebbelie, R.	27.10.1803	-	Northcote
Thurston, J.	27.1.1791	'disappeared'	-
Trossarelli, G.	June 1791	15.7.1791	Wilton
Taylor, T.	"	"	"
Tallent, J.	Jan 1791	31.12.1791	-
*Thomson, H.	7.12.1792	18.10.1793	-
Taylor, T.	19.3.1793	29.11.1793	-
*Tognarelli, P.	9.1.1794	10.10.1794	Bacon
Tomkins, M.	22.10.1794	31.12.1794	Nollekens
*Turner, C.	3.11.1794	24.7.1795	Burch
Thompson, J.	23.11.1797	11.11.1797	Fuseli
Thomson, J.W.	5.3.1798	14.12.1798	-
*Tomlinson, R.	18.10.1798	24.10.1798	Banks
Todd, J.	12.10.1798	14.12.1798	Humphry
Thomson, J.W.	5.3.1798	14.12.1798	-
Tisley, S.	9.8.1798	21.6.1800	Bull
Toplis, C.	14.11.1798	31.12.1798	Hamilton
Tolmache, W.	25.2.1800	21.7.1800	Banks
De Thuisy, E.	12.7.1800	3.2.1801	Wilton
Turner, W.	7.10.1800	28.2.1801	Banks
Teadale, J.	"	3.2.1801	Rossi
Todd, R.	5.11.1801	-	Nollekens
Unwins, T.	11.1.1798	31.12.1798	Cosway
Vaughan, T.	1.13.1799	21.6.1800	Sandby
Vanderberg, P.	March 1800	"	Nollekens
Woolley, S.	10.7.1792	19.7.1792	Wyatt
Walker, R.	3.12.1792	31.12.1792	Brettingham
Wright, J.	"	"	Major
Warren, C.J.	22.3.1793	'disappeared'	Farington
Wiles, W.H.	18.6.1793	"	-
Webster, T.	11.10.1793	18.10.1793	-
Whitehead, P.	19.12.1792	7.2.1794	Farington
Wheeler, W.	5.12.1794	'disappeared'	Rossi
Williams, T.	2.2.1795	"	Northcote
Waddell, H.	24.3.1795	"	G. Dance
Whiting, W.	7.11.1795	5.11.1796	-
Wright, R.	8.2.1796	26.8.1797	Burch

Williamson, W.	23.6.1796	'disappeared'	Edwards
*Walker, W.	30.6.1796	12.8.1797	Smirke
Wilson, A.	3.12.1796	-	Hamilton
White, R.	11.7.1797	26.8.1797	Boydell
*Watte, A.	9.3.1797	12.8.1797	Boyne
*Westmacott, T.	10.8.1797	26.8.1797	Wyatt
Wyatt, L.	5.10.1797	-	Rigaud
Williamson, T.	2.10.1797	30.12.1797	Rupel
Williamson, R.	29.11.1797	24.10.1798	-
Woods, J.	12.7.1798	13.12.1798	Edwards
Ward, J.	7.1.1798	20.1.1798	West
Wilson, J.	Nov 1798	-	Humphry
Warren, A.	9.3.1799	-	Barry
Wood, J.G.	22.1.1799	-	-
Wright, J.	23.7.1799	21.6.1800	Wilton
Ware, S.	Feb 1800	21.6.1800	Copley
Woodhouse, J.T.	23.1.1800	23.10.1800	Opie
Wilson, J.	10.6.1800	"	Wilton
Webb, T.	1.7.1800	23.12.1801	Farington
Watson, T.	"	-	"
Westall, W.	Sept 1800	-	Westall
*Wyatt, M.C.	Aug 1800	23.10.1801	Beechey
Westmacott,	May 1801	2.7.1801	Hamilton
White, J.	10.11.1801	-	West
Woodruff, J.	23.10.1801	12.11.1802	Patience
Wild, C.	26.1.1802	-	Malton
Watts, W.H.	12.7.1802	-	Northcote
Woodhouse, W.	1.10.1802	-	Bartolozzi
Wainwright,	29.11.1802	-	Anker Smith
Wright, G.	10.1.1803	-	Hoppner
Witherington, W.	May 1803	-	Shee

APPENDIX IV : CHAPTER TWO

Life Academy students : date and age at entry into R.A.

NAME	SPECIALISM	DATE OF ENTRY	AGE ON ENTRY
Agar, J.S.	engraving	31.12.1792	22
Alexander, W.	painting	27.2.1784	17
Allen, J.	"	23.11.1787	18
Allingham, C.	"	12.8.1797	19-20
Arrowsmith, T.	"	27.3.1788	16
Artaud, W.	"	31.8.1778	15
Bacon, J.	sculpture	29.3.1790	14½
Bacon, T.	-	10.3.1788	-
Baldrey, J.	engraving	29.3.1781	23
Barber, J.	painting	14.10.1791	17
Barnes, R.S.	"	29.11.1793	29
Barney, J.	-	18.12.1771	17
Basire, J.	engraving	14.11.1788	18
Bond, J.L.	paint/arch	4.12.1783	19
Bond, W.	sculpture	10.10.1783	20
Bond, H.P.	engrav/paint in enamel	19.3.1796	16
Borgnis, J.	engraving	30.1.1786	15
Bosworth, R.	painting	19.8.1790	19
Braine, T.	"	27.3.1788	18
Brome, C.	engraving	29.3.1790	16½
Browne, W.	"	12.8.1797	18
Bull, J.	painting	20.3.1795	18½
Burch, H.J.	engraving	25.3.1779	16
Burden, J.	painting	22.3.1793	20
Burney, E.F.	"	31.3.1777	16
Burrows, J.	engraving	3.11.1792	21
Cardon, A.	engraving	3.11.1792	21
Carey, P.	painting	27.3.1792	17
Carr, W.	"	10.2.1784	24
Cawse, J.	"	3.2.1798	20
Chalmers, W.	"	31.12.1791	23
Chamberlain, W.	"	13.8.1790	19
Chalon, H.	"	27.3.1788	17
Chenu, D.	sculpture	10.10.1784	-
Chenu, P.	"	29.10.1784	24
Chinnery, G.	painting	6.7.1792	19
Clarke, T.	"	22.3.1793	17
Coffin, E.	sculpture	22.3.1785	24
Conde, J.	painting	6.5.1787	20
Conde, P.	"	28.11.1788	21
Coomes, R.	"	2.2.1799	15
Corbett, J.	"	3.2.1798	21

Countre, F.	"	11.11.1793	20
Cox, J.	"	6.5.1787	29
Cranmer, C.	"	18.2.1791	17
Cristall, J.	engraving	3.11.1792	24
Dadley, J.	"	12.8.1797	30
Dawe, G.	paint/engrav	13.3.1794	13
DeBruyn, H.	painting	31.12.1792	20
Dechazel, A.	"	28.3.1795	24
DeCort, J.F.	"	2.2.1799	31
DeLamotte, W.	"	13.3.1794	18
Dixon, W.	"	22.10.1789	15
Dorrell, E.	"	12.8.1797	21
Dufretay, F.	"	20.3.1795	24
Duppa, R.	engraving	15.7.1791	22
Durand, J.	painting	14.10.1791	21
Edridge, H.	engraving	7.1.1784	15
Edwards, W.	-	31.12.1794	16
Elven, J.P.	engraving	18.2.1791	28
Engleheart, J.	min.paint.	21.6.1800	18
Engleheart, T.	sculpture	3.11.1769	23
Engleheart, W.	painting	14.12.1798	18
Evans, W.	engraving	19.11.1790	18
Fairbone, J.	painting	1.8.1790	20
Field, R.	engraving	19.11.1790	21
Findlater, W.	painting	3.10.1795	20
Flight, J.	"	10.10.1794	17
Freebairn, R.	"	2.5.1782	18
Freeman, T.	"	25.11.1776	19
Gisborne, J.	engraving	3.11.1792	19
Goblet, A.	sculpture	12.12.1792	28
Godby, J.	engraving	14.11.1788	19
Godefry, J.	"	31.3.1789	19
Green, J.	painting	18.2.1791	19
Green, J.J.	sculpture	21.3.1774	20
Gyfford, E.	arch	22.10.1789	17
Halls, J.J.	painting	11.7.1798	22
Hargreaves, T.	"	29.3.1790	16
Harrison, J.	"	24.10.1798	15
Hayter, C.	"	30.1.1786	24
Haughton, M.	engraving	31.7.1795	21
Hellyer, T.	"	29.3.1790	19
Heydon, W.	painting	31.12.1794	17
Hobday, W.	"	19.11.1790	18
Hogg, J.	engraving	6.10.1779	19
Hopper, H.	sculpture	3.2.1801	34
Hoppner, J.	painting	6.3.1775	17
Horwell, C.	sculpture	31.3.1777	23
Howard, H.	painting	27.3.1788	19
Immanuel, J.	"	3.11.1792	16

Jeremie, J.	"	3.11.1792	17
Jones, R.	min. paint	30.12.1797	29
Joseph, G.F.	engraving	3.12.1784	20
Kearsley, T.	'amusement'	13.8.1790	17
Keman, G.A.	painting	23.3.1793	27
LeClerc, J.L.	"	14.11.1788	19
Legat, J.	engraving	1.5.1783	22
Lewis, F.	"	8.8.1797	17
Lewis, J.	painting	14.12.1798	22
Manning, C.	sculpture	31.12.1794	18
Masquerier, J.	painting	31.12.1792	14
Maynard, T.	-	31.1.1772	19
Meares, R.	painting	23.10.1800	20
Medley, S.	"	14.10.1791	22
Mequignon, P.	"	27.3.1788	19
Meyer, J.H.	engraving	21.10.1797	17
Miller, W.	"	3.2.1801	-
Metz, C.M.	-	31.1.1772	22
Morris, D.	painting	13.3.1794	18
Muller, R.	"	27.3.1788	15
Murton, T.	"	13.3.1794	15
Naish, W.	"	28.11.1788	21
Noble, E.	"	3.11.1792	18
Noel, J.	"	14.12.1798	20
Ogier, P.	engraving	22.10.1789	20
Oliver, A.J.	painting	13.8.1790	16
Owen, W.	"	14.8.1791	21
Parez, A.	drawing	11.5.1793	32
Park, T.	arch	6.10.1780	30
Parkinson, T.	-	30.11.1772	27
Parks, E.	painting	31.12.1792	21
Pellegrini, D.	"	Oct 1793	-
Perry, J.	"	15.7.1791	24
Phillips, T.	"	Feb 1791	20
Picart, C.H.	engraving	19.3.1796	18
Pigeon, G.	"	11.7.1798	27
Porter, R.K.	painting	18.12.1791	13
Porter, W.	"	31.12.1791	15
Proctor, W.	"	30.9.1777	24
Pugin, A.C.	"	27.3.1792	24
Raimbach, A.	"	12.8.1797	21
Ramsay, J.	"	29.3.1805	-
Ritcher, H.	"	19.11.1790	18
Rigaud, S.F.	"	27.3.1792	14
Riviere, D.	engraving	5.11.1796	19-20
Roberts, T.S.	painting	n.d. 1790	27
Rossetti, J.S.	"	22.10.1789	25

Roupell, R.	"	12.11.1802	20
Rouw, H.	"	10.10.1794	19
Rouw, P.	sculpture	14.11.1788	18
Russell, J.J.	painting	18.2.1791	19
Saunders, R.	"	Jan 1793	19
Satchwell, R.	engraving	31.12.1792	18
Savage, J/T	arch	14.12.1798	20
Scott, A.	painting	13.8.1790	21
Sharp, M.W.	"	21.10.1791	20
Shee, M.A.	"	19.11.1790	21
Shepherd, G.	engraving	31.12.1786	17
Sherrif, C.	-	Aug 1769	-
Singleton, H.	painting	10.3.1783	16
Smirke, Rich.	"	16.7.1796	18½
Smirke, Rob.	arch	16.7.1796	15
Smith, G.	painting	7.2.1794	31
Smith, J.	-	29.3.1795	20
Smith, J.R.	painting	11.11.1797	22
Steven, J.	"	-	-
Stewart, T.	"	8.3.1782	15
Stump, S.J.	engraving	3.10.1796	18
Summers, S.N.	painting	Oct 1793	19
Syer, R.	"	7.2.1794	21
Taylor, A.	-	4.12.1775	-
Taylor, T.	painting	29.11.1793	20
Tendi, A.	-	29.3.1790	-
Theed, W.	painting	5.5.1786	21
Thompson, T.	"	6.10.1779	18
Thomson, H.	"	29.3.1790	18
Thomson, T.	"	Oct 1793	17-18
Tomlinson, R.	sculpture	24.10.1798	19
Tognarelli, P.	"	10.10.1794	22
Trotter, T.	engraving	25.3.1779	22
Turner, C.	"	24.7.1795	21
Turner, W.	painting	22.3.1785	22
Turner, J.M.	"	22.10.1789	15
Van Assen, A.	painting	10.10.1783	16
Walker, W.	"	12.8.1797	18
Watson, R.	"	6.3.1797	20
Watte, A.	"	12.8.1797	21
Westmacott, T.	arch	26.8.1797	18
Williams, J.	painting	14.2.1769	-
Wood, W.	"	16.12.1785	16
Woodforde, S.	"	8.3.1782	18
Wyatt, M.C.	"	3.12.1801	21
Yeathard, J.	-	28.11.1788	21

APPENDIX V : CHAPTER II

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FEMALE ARTISTS EXHIBITING

- Miss Catherine Andras (fl. 1799-1824), won the Silver Palette award in 1801 for three-dimensional models, and exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1799 to 1824.
- Miss Helena Beatson (1763-1839), Scottish amateur painter who visited India.
- Jane Betham [Mrs Read], (1774-after 1816) painter of portraits and fancy pictures.
- Mrs Maria Bell [Lady Bell] (fl.1783-1825), painter of portraits and fancy subjects. Marie-Guihelmine Benoise (1768-1826).
- Miss Mary Benwell [Mrs Code] (fl.1762-after 1800), portrait painter in crayons and oils.
- Mary Bertrand (fl.1772-1776), painter of portraits and fancy pieces. Pupil of Mason Chamberlin, 1772-3.
- Mary Black (1737-1814), portrait painter in oils and crayons. Reported to have been reasonably competent.
- Mrs Ann Brown (fl.1698-1720), portrait painter and professional copyist of the Masters.
- Constance Marie Charpentier (1767-1841), French artist.
- Marie-Anne Collot (1748-1821), French artist.
- Maria Cosway [Mrs Richard Cosway], (1759-1838), born in Florence and died at Lodi, 5 January. Married Richard Cosway in 1781. She was a miniature painter of historical subjects. Though not comparable to Kauffman.
- Sarah Curtis (fl.before 1692-1742/43), professional portrait painter.
- Flora Davirrmirrault (1773-1844).
- Lady Henrietta Finch (fl.1777-1814) amateur painter.
- Anne Forbes (1745-1834), portrait painter and copyist in oils & crayons. Born and died in Scotland. She studied with Gavin Hamilton whilst in Rome and settled briefly in London where she exhibited portraits at the Royal Academy 1772.
- Marguerite Gerard (1761-1836), French artist.
- Mary Grace (fl.1749-1786), painter of rustic genre and occasionally portraits and history.
- Harriott Hamilton (c.1769-after 1828), Irish portrait painter and copyist of old Masters.
- Miss Hewson (fl.1789), exhibited a portrait at the Royal Academy, 1789.
- Angelica Kauffman (1741-1801), Foundation Member of the R.A. and an artist of some renown. Mainly specialised in neo-classical paintings, exhibiting at the Free Society 1765-66; Society of Arts 1768; and R.A. 1769-1797. She was trained in various part of Northern Italy, laterly Florence and Rome and in 1766 she settled in London where she met with immense success. Married Antonio Zucchi in 1781, eventually retiring to Venice [1781] and then to Rome where she died, 5 November.
- Miss H. Kearsley, exhibited 'Woman' (1825) at the Royal Society of Arts, [they still have this drawing].

- Georgiana Jane Keate (1770-1850), exhibited a variety of subjects at the Society of Arts, 1791.
- Susan Keck (1746-1835), exhibited a crayon portrait at Royal Academy, 1771.
- Margaret King (fl.1779-1787), exhibited portraits, mainly in crayons at Royal Academy, 1779-17787.
- Hon. Wilhelmina King (fl.1770-1795), exhibited at Society of Arts 1770-73 (flowers etc.) and Royal Academy, 1775.
- Adelaide Labille-Guiard (1749-1803).
- Anne Ladd (1746-1770), exhibited fruit pieces at the Society of Arts, 1769-70.
- Anne Louisa Lane (fl.1769-1782), miniature and occasional portraitist in oil. Exhibited at Society of Arts, 1769-76; and Royal Academy, 1778-82.
- Miss Mary Lawrence (1794-c.1830), flower painter, often in watercolours. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1794-1830.
- Miss Leake (fl.1780-1785), exhibited flower pictures at Royal Academy, 1780-1785.
- Miss Lister (fl.1784), exhibited Royal Academy, 1784.
- Miss Mead (fl.1778), exhibited two portraits in crayon at the Royal Academy, 1778.
- Dorothy Mercier (1738-1762), portrait painter in oils and crayons.
- Gertrud Metz (1746-c?1793), painter of fruit and flowers. Sister of R.A. pupil C.M. Metz. Exhibited at Society of Arts, 1772; and Royal Academy, 1773-74.
- Miss Moresby (fl.1778), exhibited a portrait in crayons, Free Society, 1778.
- Miss Morgan (fl.1791), exhibited a whole length female portrait, Society of Arts 1791.
- Mrs Morris (fl.1780), exhibited a "View of a mill in Devonshire", Society of Arts 1780. Lived in Chelsea.
- Mary Moser (1744-1819), Founder Member of the R.A. Essentially a flower painter but occasionally painted history and portraits. She was born in London, and her father was R.A. Keeper George Michael Moser. Exhibited at the R.A. 1769-1792; and Society of Arts, 1760-1768. She won a premium of special merit in 1759 from the Society of Arts.
- Miss Anne Pars (fl.1766-1786), exhibited a crayon portrait at the Royal Academy, 1786. She was the sister of William Pars, and she won several premiums from the Society of Arts between 1764 and 1766.
- Mrs Pells (fl.1774), exhibited at Society of Arts, 1774.
- Katherine Read (1723-1778), fashionable portrait painter in crayons. Though born in Scotland she eventually died on a ship returning from India where she had lived.
- Alice Richardson [fl.1776] (1769-1775), exhibited three crayon portraits at Royal Academy, 1776.
- Elizabeth Anne Rigaud (1776-1852), painter of portraits and themes from literature. Daughter and pupil of J. F. Rigaud.
- Miss Alice Roberts (fl.1777), exhibited at Society of Arts, 1777 a portrait in crayon.

- Andrea Rocca (fl.1771), exhibited a portrait in crayon at the Royal Academy, 1771.
- Olivia Serres (1772-1834), landscape painter who exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1793-1808; and British Institute, 1806-1811.
- Mary and Sarah Shiells (fl.1783-1790) two sisters. They exhibited portraits and fancy figures: Free Society 1783, Society of Arts 1783 and 1790, Royal Academy 1784 and 1787.
- Georgina Shipley (fl.1781-1806), amateur portrait painter. A friend of Joshua Reynolds.
- Miss Simpson (fl.1799), exhibited a landscape at the Royal Academy, 1799.
- Mrs Spencer (fl.1783), exhibited a head in crayons at the Free Society, 1783. This artist is thought to have been Lavinia Bingham [1762-1831] who married in 1781. A friend of Joshua Reynolds.
- Mrs Maria Spilsbury (1777-c.1823), painter of portraits and scenes. Born London, died Ireland.
- Mrs H. Suddenwood (fl.1798-1800), exhibited pictures of flowers at the Royal Academy, 1798-1800.
- Anna Dorothea Therbusch-Lisiewska (1721-1782).
- Mrs Thomas (fl.1775), exhibited "An old woman's head" and "St. Catherine" at the Free Society, 1775.
- Miss Lucy Thurgar (fl.1783), exhibited two pictures at the Free Society, 1783.
- Miss Thursby (fl.1793), exhibited "Dove-dale morning", at the Royal Academy, 1793.
- Miss Mary Thurzan (fl.1783), exhibited a portrait at the Society of Arts, 1783.
- Mrs Mary Tichbourn (fl.1763-1766), exhibited three crayon portraits at the Society of Arts, 1763-1766.
- Anna Tonelli (c.1763-1846), painter of miniatures and crayon portraits. Born and died in Florence, though she lived for a time in London and India, between 1794 and 1802.
- Miss Mary Turner (fl.1798), exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1798.
- Miss Sophia Turner (1777-after 1793), daughter of George Turner. Exhibited three scenes from plays at the Royal Academy, 1791-1793.
- Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744-1818).
- Cornelia Van Der Mijl (1709-at least 1772), painter of portraits and flowers. Born at Amsterdam.
- Maria Verelst (1680-1744), Vienesse painter of portraits both large and small.
- Elisabeth Vigee-Lebrun (1755-1842).
- Mary de Villebrune (fl.1772-1782), painter of portraits and fancy heads in oils and crayons. Exhibited at the Society of Arts, 1771-1774; and Royal Academy, 1772, 1777, 1782.
- Mary Rachel Walpole (c.1758-1827), exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1782 a portrait of her sister, Caroline.
- Miss Watlington (fl.1774), exhibited portrait drawings in chalk and a drawing after Gainsborough, at the Free Society 1774.
- Elizabeth Ramsden [Mrs Weddell], (c.1750-1831), amateur

painter.

Lady Anne Wentworth (c.1721-1769), painted in oils and crayons.

Miss H. Wilk(e)s, (fl.1799), exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1799.

Miss Anne Williams (fl.1768-1783), painter of portraits and fancy heads in crayons. Exhibited at the Society of Arts 1768; the Free Society, 1770-1783; and the Royal Academy, 1778-1779.

Miss M. Williams (fl.1793), exhibited "Inspiration" at the Royal Academy, 1793.

Miss Willis (fl.1797-1803), exhibited views in Wales 1797-98, and in Devon 1803.

Hon. Mrs Yorke (fl.1771-1775), exhibited landscapes in crayons at the Society of Arts, 1771-1775.

APPENDIX VI : CHAPTER TWO

LIFE VISITORS in order of YEARS of SERVICE
 [assimilated from life visitors registers at the Academy]
 1769 to 1801

NAME	YEARS OF SERVICE
Nollekens, J.	18
Burch, E.	16
Barry, J.	16
West, B.	16
Bartolozzi, F.	15
Wilton, J.	13
Banks, T.	11
Carlini, A.	11
Cipriani, J. B.	11
Catton, C.	10
Cosway, R.	10
J. F. Rigaud	10
Dance, N.	10
Bacon, J.	8
Copley, J. S.	8
Hamilton, W.	8
Meyer, J.	8
Northcote, J.	8
Fuseli, H.	7
Opie, J.	7
Penny, E.	7
Smirke, R.	6
De Louthembourg, P.	5
Toms, P.	5
Zoffany, J.	5
Hayman, F.	4
Hoppner, J.	4
Peters, Revd. M. W.	4
Stothard, T.	4
Wheatley, F.	4
Wilson, R.	4
Chamberlin, M.	3
Hone, N.	2
Lawrence, T.	2
Russell, J.	2
Westall, R.	2
Zuccarelli, F.	2
Beechey, W.	2
Flaxman, J.	1
Shee, M.	1
Wale, S.	1

APPENDIX VII : CHAPTER TWO

LIST OF VISITORS at the ACADEMY : individual specialisms.

PAINTING/LIFE	ENGRAVING	PLAISTER/SCULPTURE
James Barry	F. Bartolozzi	John Bacon
Sir W. Beechey		Edward Burch
Charles Catton		Agostino Carlini
Mason Chamberlin		John Flaxman
J. B. Cipriani		Joseph Wilton
J. S. Copley		Joseph Nollekens
Richard Cosway		
N. Dance		
P.J. de Louthembourg		
Henry Fuseli		
William Hamilton		
Francis Hayman		
N. Hone		
John Hoppner		
Sir Thomas Lawrence		
J. Meyer		
J. Northcote		
John Opie		
Edward Penny		
Revd. M. W. Peters		
J. F. Rigaud		
John Russell		
Sir Martin Shee		
R. Smirke		
Thomas Stothard		
Peter Toms		
Samuel Wale		
Benjamin West		
Richard Westall		
Francis Wheatley		
Richard Wilson		
Johann Zoffany		
F. Zuccarelli		

APPENDIX VIII : CHAPTER TWO

list of PAINTING acquisitions in the R.A. LIBRARY
taken from the first Library Catalogue, 1802.

- Le Brun, Grand Escalier de Versailles [folio] Paris 1688.
- Edward Burch, Catalogue of Proof of Gems, London 1795.
- Caracci le Arti di Bologna, colla sua Vita [folio] Rome 1740.
- Cozen, Principles of Beauty [folio] London 1778.
- John Flaxman, Designs from the Tragedies of Aeschylus
 [folio] n.d.
- Henry Fuseli, Lectures on Painting, (London 1801)
- Ghezzi, Raccolta di Caricature [folio] Dresden 1750.
- Gallerie (La Grand) de Versailles, peinte par le Brun,
 [folio] Paris 1752.
- William Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty 2vols. London 1772.
- Metz, Imitations of Drawings, ancient to modern, [folio] n.d.
- Sir Joshua Reynolds, Works, 2vols. n.d.
- Recueil - Iconologie - Vases; - Figures, Figures antiques,
d'Oppenort; - Figures et Animaux, par Roos. n.d.
- Leonardo da Vinci, Della Pittura, [folio] Paris 1651.
- " " in French, [folio] Paris 1651.
- " " in English, 8vo. Paris 1651.

APPENDIX I : CHAPTER THREE

LIST OF ANATOMY STUDENTS

[Students taken from the life academy registers, specialising
in figure, portrait and historical subjects]

Figurative/Portrait/Historical Painters

Joseph Allen
 William Artaud
 Robert Bosworth
 John Cawse
 Theophilus Clarke
 Joseph Cox
 George Dawe
 Henry De Bruyn
 Samuel De Wilde
 William Engleheart
 John Fairbone
 J. J. Halls
 Thomas Hargreaves
 John Harrison
 John Hogg
 John Hoppner
 Henry Howard
 Thomas Kearsley
 Mauritius Lowe
 J. J. Masquerier
 Thomas Maynard
 Peter Mequignon
 Daniel Morris
 Robert Muller
 James Northcote
 A. J. Oliver
 William Owen
 Thomas Parkinson
 Dominic Pellegrini
 John Perry
 Thomas Phillips
 Robert Kerr Porter
 William Porter
 Thomas Proctor
 Abraham Raimbach
 James Ramsay
 Henry Richter
 Alexander Scott
 Martin A. Shee
 George Smith
 J. J. Smith
 Justin Stevens
 Thomas Stewart
 S. N. Summers
 Robert Syer

Andrea Tendi
Henry Thomson
William Walker
Robert Watson
Abraham Watte
John Williams
Samuel Woodforde
John Yeathard

Engravers

J. S. Agar
John Baldrey
James Basire
Joseph Borgnis
William Browne
J. Burrows
Antoine Cardon
Joshua Cristall
Richard Duppa
William Evans
Robert Field
John Gisborne
James Godby
John Godefroy
Moses Haughton
Thomas Hellyer
G. F. Joseph
Francis Legat
F. Lewis
J. H. Meyer
Conrad M. Metz
Charles H. Picart
Daniel Riviere
Thomas Trotter
Charles Turner

Sculptors

John Bacon
Thomas Bacon
William Bond
Henry J. Burch
Edmund Coffin
John Deare
Theodore De Bruyn
Thomas Engleheart
Alexander Goblet
Humphry Hopper
Charles Horwell
Charles Manning
Peter Rouw
William Theed
Matthew C. Wyatt

CANDIDATES

FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF

PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY,

TO THE

ROYAL ACADEMY.

Mr. JOSHUA BROOKES, &c. &c. &c.

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3

Mr. GEORGE SIMPSON, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. JOSEPH CONSTANTINE CARPUE, &c. &c. &c.

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4

Mr. JOSEPH HENRY GREEN, &c. &c. &c.

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14

Mr. HERBERT MAYO, &c. &c. &c.

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Mr. CHARLES BELL, &c. &c. &c.

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List of Candidates for the
post of Professor of Anatomy
at the Royal Academy of Arts,
dated 1824.

APPENDIX III : CHAPTER THREE

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALE ARTISTS BORN IN LIVERPOOL & EXHIBITING

*artists attending Royal Academy as students

Samuel Alcock
 Master Ashton
 Nicholas Ashton
 John Baines
 Henry Blundell
 P. P. Burdett*
 Richard Caddick
 William Caddick
 William Caddick, jnr.
 Thomas Caddick
 Samuel Chubbard
 Thomas Chubbard
 Edward Clifton
 Thomas Critchlow
 Daniel Daulby, jnr.
 John Deare*
 Joseph Dear(e)
 Joseph Deare
 Thomas Deare
 Dr Matthew Dobson
 Joseph Durand
 Jeremiah Evans
 William Everard
 Charles Eyes
 John Eyes
 John Eyes, jnr.
 Rev. William Finch
 John Formby
 Jas. Garnett
 John George
 Guy Green
 Matthew Gregson
 Thomas Hargreaves
 T. Hazlehurst
 Peter Holland
 William Jackson
 Nathaniel Johnson
 Edward Kennion
 Issac Le Groates or Legrote
 Patrick John McMorland
 William Mayor
 Samuel Medley, jnr.*
 Moon
 William Newby
 John Orme
 Faithful Christopher Pack
 Joseph Parry
 John Pennington
 Paul Pennington

Joseph Perry
Henry Pickering
W. Place
John Rathbone
Dr Michael Renwick
Edward Rogers
Peter Romney
William Roscoe
Thomas Rothwell
James Sharples
Daniel Stringer
Samuel Stringer, jnr.
George Stubbs*
George Townley Stubbs
William Sutton
John Sykes
William Tarleton
Paul Tate
Richard Tate
Thomas Moss Tate
William Tate
Thomas Taylor
Charles Town(e)
Richard (or Robert) Town
Dr Matthew Turner
Thomas Wakefield
J. G. Williams
John Williamson
Hamlet Winstanley
W. Woodworth
Ottiwell Worrall
Edward Wright
J. Wright
Richard Wright
John Wyke

APPENDIX IV : CHAPTER THREE

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IRISH MALE ARTISTS, EXHIBITING

*artists attending Royal Academy as students

William Ashford
 George Barret
 Jeremiah Barrett
 Francis Bindon
 Henry Brooke
 Robert Brooke
 P. Burke
 John Butts
 Richard Carver
 Robert Carver
 Anthony Chearnley
 Timothy Collopy
 James Coy
 Robert Crone
 William Cuming
 James Curry
 Hugh Primrose Dean
 Alexander De la Nauze
 Jacob Ennis
 Charles Exshaw
 Jonathon Fisher
 John Flin
 James Forrester
 Thomas Frye
 Edmund Garvey
 George Gavin
 Nathaniel Grogan
 James Hagarty
 John Hamilton
 Philip Harpur
 Thomas Hickey
 William Hincks*
 Henry Hodgins
 Henry Hopson*
 Hugh Howard
 Howe Loftus
 H. Hulley
 William Nelson Gardiner
 Matthew Hunter
 Robert Hunter
 Philip Hussey
 Charles Jervas
 William Jolly
 William Jones
 George Francis Joseph*
 Michael Kean*
 John Keenan
 James Latham
 William Laurence

George Lawrence
Anthony Lee
Charles MacKenzie
Wyndham Madden
Peter Mequignon*
Michael Mitchell
John Moran
Garret Morphey
George Mullins
Jeffrey Hamet O'Neal
Rev. John Payne
Thomas Pooley
Alexander Pope
Thomas Pope
Somerville Pope-Stevens
Herbert Pugh
Thomas Pye*
D. Quigley
Thomas Roberts
Thomas Sautelle Roberts*
Nathaniel Rourke
Francis Ryan
John Shea
Sir Martin Archer Shee*
Peter Shee
John Simpson
Bartholomew Stoker
William Thom(p)son
Henry Trench
Henry Tresham*
John Trotter
Joseph Tudor
James Turner
William Waldron
John Warren
William Watson
Francis Robert West
Robert West
Solomon Williams*
Samuel Woodforde*

APPENDIX V : CHAPTER THREE

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTTISH MALE ARTISTS, EXHIBITING

*artists attending Royal Academy as students

#artists living in London not R.A. students

William Aikman
 Cosmo Alexander
 John Alexander
 David Allan#
 James Alves
 William Anderson#
 Frederick Binne#
 Adam Callander
 Cameron
 Sir George Chalmers#
 Alexander Clerk#
 James Clarke
 Sir James Clerk
 William Cochran
 Jeremiah Davison#
 William Denune
 Colin Erskine
 Sawrey Gilpin#
 John Graham*
 Gavin Hamilton#
 Andrew Hay
 James Jemely
 Francis Legat*
 Andrew McIlraith
 David Martin#
 William Millar
 Jacob Moore
 Colin Morison
 William Mosman#
 David Murray
 Thomas Murray#
 Alexander Nasmyth#
 James Nevay
 James Norie, snr.
 Charles Pavillon
 John Paxton
 Sir Henry Raeburn#
 Allan Ramsay#
 Philip Reinagle*
 George Ross
 Alexander Runciman#
 John Runciman
 John Scougall
 John Smibert
 Charles Stewart
 Richard Waitt
 James Wales
 Thomas Warrender

George Watson*
David Wilkie*
George Willison

APPENDIX VI : CHAPTER THREE

NAMES OF MEDICAL MEN PERSONALLY KNOWN TO JOSEPH FARINGTON

Mr Ball
Dr Bates
Dr Batty
Dr William Beattie (or Beatty)
Mr Bissell [Apothecary]
Dr Edmonds
Dr Fisher
Dr Fraser
Dr Garthshore
Dr Gisborne
Dr Heath
Dr John Heaviside
Dr Heberden
Dr Heming
Dr Jenner
Mr Francis Knight
Dr Lawrence
Dr Lettsom
Dr Mathews
Mr Moore
Dr Frank Nicholls sen.,
Dr Nicholls jnr.,
Dr Sanger
Dr Stevens
Dr Thomson
Mr Waring
Dr Wharton
Dr Wolcot

APPENDIX I : CHAPTER FOUR

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APPENDIX II : CHAPTER FOUR

FEMALE ARTISTS AND THE LIFE CLASS

Towards the end of the nineteenth-century a triadic system of art education had emerged in London which included the Royal Academy, the Slade School of Art (University College London), and the Government Schools with its headquarters at South Kensington and schools nationwide. The Royal Academy and the Slade School were closely connected regarding teaching styles and course content, but the Government Schools were against life class activities. A brief examination of the curriculum at the Slade School shows its close affiliations with the Royal Academy.

The Slade School of Art opened its doors to male and female students in 1871, almost a century after the founding of the Royal Academy. From the outset the Slade made special provision for the admission of women as students of the Fine Art School. At first it was proposed that to meet the special needs of female students an entirely separate set of rooms with a separate entrance should be provided, with an entrance from the upper end of Gower Street. However, this did not transpire as an entry in the University Calendar 1872-1873 reveals, consequently mixed classes with no separate entrance was instigated. Female students were admitted from the very first day, similarly, the Royal Academy at this time had 25 female students drawing in the Draped Figure School. Male and female students at the Slade worked side by side, whilst over at South

Kensington at the Government School, classes were not mixed and females attended separate classes. Although the Royal Academy allowed females to attend classes they were still prohibited from attending the nude models in the life class.

Nevertheless, some improvement had been made from the Academy's inception when only two female artists, Angelica Kauffmann and Mary Moser, had been allowed to enter the Royal Academy. The Slade offered instruction in drawing from the antique, the nude and draped model, and in addition anatomy classes were made available in a separate room under the guidance of a specially appointed professor. The first professor of anatomy at the Slade was Sir George Thane (1850-1950), Senior Demonstrator of Anatomy at University College London. Each year he gave 18 lectures to the art students on the study of bones, joints and muscles, using, as Hunter had done before him, a living model. There is no evidence that Thane dissected in front of the students as eighteenth century teachers had done, and anatomical teachings at the Slade emphasized the superficial muscles, the body in motion and skeletal anatomy. However, Thane did revise a number of art-anatomy folios for student use. The difference between eighteenth century anatomical teaching and that of the following century was the practice of dissection, or the lack of it. Though cadavers and dissection were made available to art students at the Anatomy Department, University College London, there is no evidence that they were encouraged to dissect and investigate man's internal organs as Hunter had urged. For Hunter, anatomical theory and practice

were interlinked and practical experience was essential for art-anatomy practice. By the end of the nineteenth-century the human body was being viewed differently and the days of art education incorporating dissection were gradually disappearing.

Sir Edward Poynter's Inaugural Lecture was not so different in theory to that of Reynolds or Hunter. He spoke of "the extreme difficulty which a student finds in connecting the forms in the antique model with those given in the anatomical books and figures before he has learnt to understand them in the living figure". All three men urged their students to use anatomical knowledge when embarking on life class drawings. Differences exist, Poynter states, between the "natural motionless" of antique casts and the living body which "can never remain quite still, or take twice running precisely the same position". The Slade students are further told, as were the Royal Academy students in 1769, that: "The living model will be considered first and of paramount importance, the study of the antique being put in second place". The content and application of art education at the Slade differed very little from that of the Royal Academy, the changes that had taken place during the nineteenth-century concerned Government education. Gender issues, women's rights, female emancipation and equality were themes connecting education to sexual politics during the nineteenth-century. The female students attending the Slade and the Royal Academy in the 1870s were fighting for their rights, taking legal action and petitioning. The eighteenth century female equivalents with their valiant

attempts at exhibiting, private drawing classes and social understanding of artistic hierarchies had little effect on the Royal Academy and its male dominated world. Although a number of female artists did exhibit in the annual shows they were viewed as amateurs rather than professionals which is further borne out by Farington and Richard Smirke: "Today Smirke mentioned that Mary Smirke is very desirous of painting in oil; but He doubts of its not bieng a manner of practising the art suitable to the Sex,- He also was undetermined abt. the sort of education He shd give her in the art, whether to confine Her views to miniature painting. I told him I thought it would be most prudent to give Her as strong an education as He could in drawing, which wd. enable her to to practise any branch of art she may be inclined to, and should she prefer painting in Oil, I wd. not discourage it. Angelica is an instance of success". Farington makes reference to a number of interesting points in this quotation which include 1) the types of medium and style female artists should employ, 2) what sort of education a female should receive, 3) the kind of skills needed for becoming a drawing teacher, and 4) he presents Kauffmann as an example for other women to follow. Angelica Kauffmann was the exception rather than the rule. Not only was she a very able painter but she was professionally and socially connected to the Royal Academy and, although not allowed to attend the life class nor teach in the Schools, she was regarded as a competent artist in her own right. This was not the case for other female artists of her generation who usually sought employment

as governesses and drawing instructors. A number of females artists also had family connexions making the professional gap between the sexes a little easier. For instance, artists such as Mary Moser, Mary Smirke, Maria Cosway, Georgina Shipley and Johanna Serres were either daughters of artists or married to well-known artists usually at the Royal Academy. Johanna Serres, the daughter of Academician Dominic Serres, put into motion a plan for establishing The Institution of Females in the Fine Arts in 1814. Under her leadership this School would enable those females coming from under-privileged backgrounds to obtain a sufficient knowledge of drawing and painting qualifying them as governesses or teachers. Although there is very little information on the founding of this School it was in principle supported by Benjamin West, William Beechey, James Ward, John Flaxman and Reinagle who all signed a statement vouching for her abilities as an artist.

Restrictions on life class attendance meant that female students were forced to seek other avenues of anatomic instruction. Art-anatomy folios played their part in giving a basic understanding of muscles, proportion, weight and volume, helping those artists such as Kauffmann using figures in her paintings to at least have some grasp of human anatomy. In this way art-anatomy treatises were of more use to female artists than to their male counterparts and the increasing use of female figures in the folios instructed women about their own biology. Private drawing schools were another outlet for females, though only those from privileged backgrounds could

afford individual lessons. Progress was made between the 1770s and 1870s but it was slow and female students attending the Royal Academy Schools petitioned against the imposed life class restrictions. Conflicts arose between female students at the Government Schools at South Kensington and those attending the Royal Academy concerning drawing privileges. Female art students at South Kensington petitioned with 23 signatures for the removal of the Royal Academy's resolution banning them from attending the schools at the Academy in 1863. Meanwhile, between 1878 and 1900 numerous petitions were put to the Royal Academy from their own female students requesting that a semi-draped model be put in the painting school, that they should be allowed to study from a nude woman and partially draped male model, and have the same rights and privileges as the male students in the Schools. Female students were demanding access to the life classes as Kauffmann and Moser had done before them.

The female students at the South Kensington School had other difficulties which arose from the lack of life classes and it was through the pioneering work of people like John Marshall who provided art-anatomy classes, that students both male and female, were given tuition of this kind. Government training eventually broke away from the monotonous copying of objects, casts and pattern drawing for industrial use and moved toward a fine art education, providing choices in subjects from life classes to design modelling. Art education eventually provided the equality that Angelica Kauffmann and Mary Moser

were denied. They had created their own private world of art education by exhibiting on a regular basis and attending private drawing classes.

APPENDIX I : CHAPTER FIVE

LIST OF ROYAL ACADEMY INSPECTORS FOR THE CASTS

1769 John Bacon

Joseph Farington

1812 George Dance

Joseph Farington

1814 David Wilkie

Richard Westmacott

1815 for Works Imported, Henry Bone

Philip Reinagle

1817 William Owen

James Northcote

1818 William Mulready

A. E. Chalon

APPENDIX II : CHAPTER FIVE**THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF CASTS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY**

taken from Council Minutes, 27th November 1816.

'Dying Gladiator'

'Fighting Gladiator'

'Anatomical Figure'

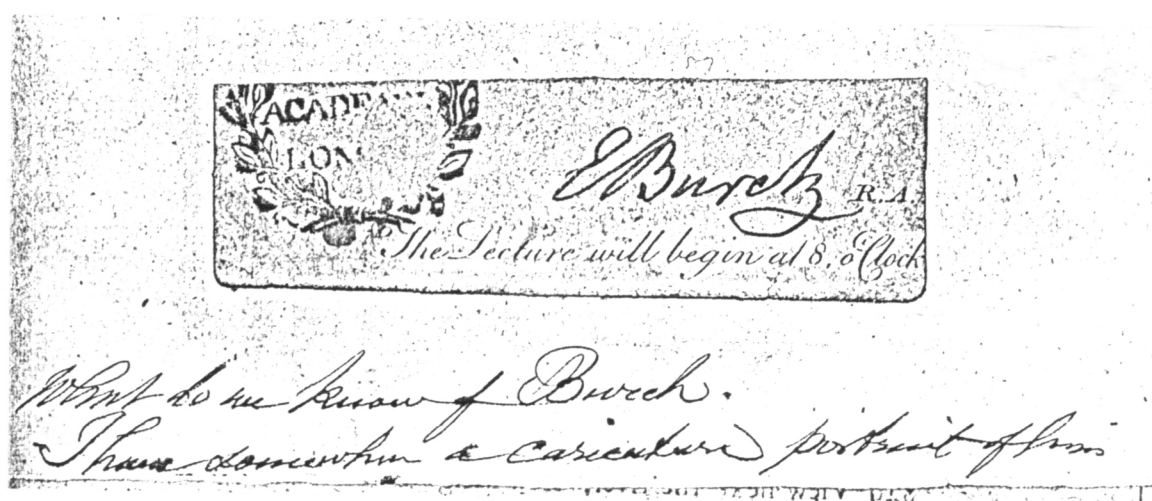
'Male Torsos'

'Heads'

'Anatomical Leg and Foot'

'Anatomical Foot'

'Fragments of feet, hands and legs.'



Admission Ticket to a Royal
Academy of Arts Lecture,
belonging to Edward Burch,
dated 1808.

Appendix III : Chapter Five.

APPENDIX IV : CHAPTER FIVE

SCULPTORS EXHIBITING IN WAX NOT STUDENTS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMYCIRCA 1750 - 1800

Bouquet, W. V.
Cornman, P.
Dell, J.
Diemar, J. E.
Hay, J.
Leader, G.
McKenzie, A.
Parbury, G.
Pars, A.
Poole, T. R.
Paye, R. M.
Percy, S.
Rossi, J. C. F.
Rumph, G.
Santler, R.
Shaw, J.
Stewart, R.
Thornthwaite, J. C.
Wells, T.
Westmacott, R.
Wyon, T. (the elder)

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MAPS

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